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NARRATIVE
OF THE
DANGERS
TO WHICH I HAVE BEEN EXPOSED,
SINCE THE 31ST OF MAY, 1793.
WITH HISTORICAL MEMORANDUMS,
BY JOHN-BAPTIST LOUVET,
ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES PROSCRIBED IN 1793,
NOW PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

"Just heaven, enlighten this unhappy people, for whom I pray for liberty, -----Liberty ! -----it is for those lofty minds, that despise death, and can risk it when necessary. It is not for those corrupt mortals, who, issuing from the bed of debauchery or the slime of wretchedness, run to wallow in the blood that streams from scaffolds. It is for a wise people, which cherishes humanity, practises justice, despises flatterers, knows it's true friends, and respects truth. Till you become such a people, my fellow-citizens, in vain will you talk of liberty ; your portion will be but a licentiousness, to which each of you, in his turn, will fall a victim : you will ask for bread, and you will receive carcases ; till at length you will be completely enslaved."

Extracted literally from the manuscript defence of citizen [madame] Roland, assassinated by the revolutionary tribunal, brumaire 19, 2 (November 9, 1793.)

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1795.



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*The caverns of Mount Jura, april 19, 1794,
germinal 30, in the year of the republic, one and
indivisible, 2.*

HERE, as before I reached these lofty heights, leisure I have little. I make notes: it is all I can do. Let not the reader expect nicety of style, or copiousness of circumstance. In truth, I write neither history, nor even what is called memoirs: I merely sketch notes to assist me, if ever I should find sufficient leisure to take up the pen, or to aid some other, if I never be able to resume it. Truth, however, may be expected from me; for I protest, that, so profound is my respect for truth, I should deem the mere thought of falsifying it a crime. Besides, from truth alone can we hope to be justified: truth alone can destroy that vast structure of absurd or atrocious calumnies, with which they have overwhelmed, that they may afterward affassinate us.

Paris, pluviose 16 (march 6,) 3 (1795).

YOU have here what I wrote at a time, when I was far from expecting, that I should print these memorandums myself. Imagining I was sketching a posthumous work, I interspersed some account of my private life, with the details of my conduct respecting the revolution. Not from the suggestions of self-love, too frequently mean and contemptible, was I induced to speak of myself; but for the good of the public, with which circumstances have connected me. A modest silence respecting our personal actions is no longer permitted us. To us so much ill has been imputed, that I am forced to reveal the little good I have done.

And you, whom I so much loved in private life, whom I have so often admired in your public conduct; good friends, kind relations, affectionate fathers, loving husbands; founders of that republican liberty, for which you died, offering up your best wishes, precious remains of the proscribed of the 31st of may; you, devoured by that Gironde, where I quitted you with a rashness that saved me, and where you remained with a confidence

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confidence that proved your destruction* ; you, whom, alas, I embraced for the last time, and who now, from that Elysium where your shades repose, claim our common promise ; be assured I will perform my duty. The day is approaching, when all your virtues will be made public : why cannot I find those faithful hands, to which your last writings were entrusted ! Why am I not permitted to scrutinize that holy land, where you deposited them ! And were it true, that some courage were still requisite, to make you fully known, with pride recalling to mind your glorious end, and pushing forward to the same goal, I would exclaim, with one of the heroes of Tacitus,

“ I may want a place to live ; I cannot want one to die.”

In relating a few facts of the political lives of our friends, it will be found, that I have imputed to them some faults : but let it be remembered, that I write for the public rather than for them ; and that they are too great to be flattered. Besides,

* The tragical ends of Salle, Guadet, Barbaroux, and Valady, are known. Of Pethion and Buzot with grief I must say, it is a thousand to one, that they are no more. Out of seven of us in that fatal department of Gironde, I alone remain.

all their faults were the faults of virtue: they originated from the purity of their manners, from the extreme goodness of their hearts. They were too virtuous to credit crimes, till the very day they fell victims to them.

I must not conclude without one necessary remark. Let him, who reads these memoirs, frequently call to mind, the period at which they were finished. Robespierre was still reigning. When I speak of committees and of tribunals, therefore, those of Robespierre alone are to be understood. O may the genius of the republic ever support the arms of those courageous men, who, on the 9th of thermidor (july 27), changed the appearance of France: and may I, whose vain endeavours much earlier attempted what their power afterwards accomplished, soon returning to my post, assist their endeavours to cure the deep wounds, which the *ultra-revolutionists* inflicted on their country.

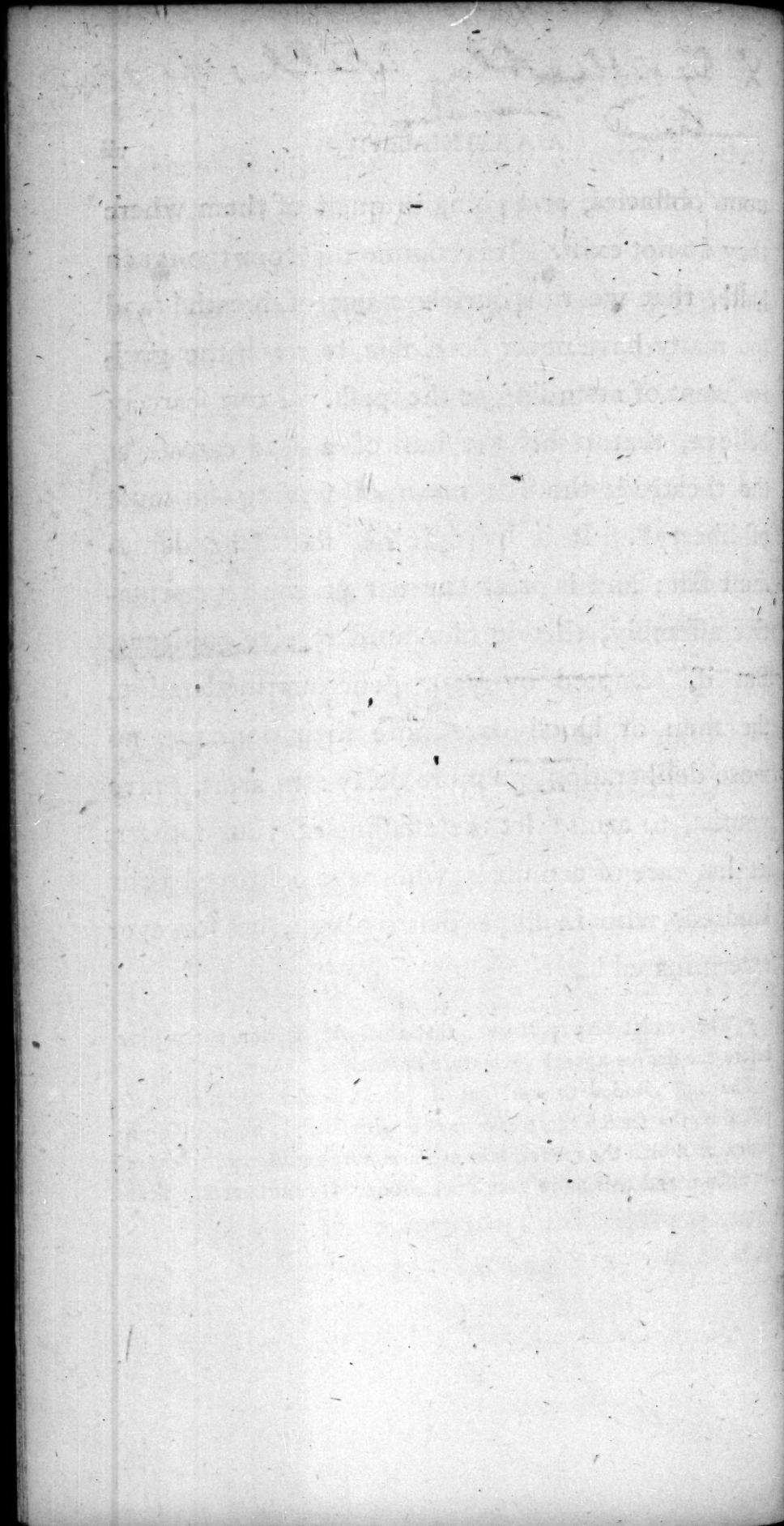
In the mean time, one word with you, parisian youths. You are at last awakened: beware that you fall not asleep for a moment. Be watchful and vigorous: but be firm and wise. Be equally on your guard against rushing headlong too soon

upon

upon obstacles, and going in quest of them where they do not exist. It is commonly from too much haste, that we run ourselves out of breath: and too many have never been able to reach the goal, for want of attending to the path. I can scarcely believe, that to hiss the bust of a dead carcase at the theatre is the best mean of serving the cause of liberty*. It is by opinion, that false deities must fall: and it is at the bar of the representative assembly, that opinion must receive guidance. But if, tempted by your generous moderation, the men of blood dare raise their poniards, no more deliberation, no more delay: to arms, brave youths, to arms! let the assassins of your fathers, let that race of cannibals, who have destroyed your kindred, who in hope destroy you, be for ever exterminated!

* The reader may perceive, that this was written a few days before the decree against premature apotheoses. Author.

The bust alluded to was that of Marat, which for a time was placed on the french theatres crowned with laurel; their disapprobation of which the moderatists of Paris were accustomed to express by hissing, and this more than once produced disturbances. Trans.



X Ex cellently well describ'd

HISTORICAL MEMORANDUMS, &c.

*Grottos of St. Emillion, in the Gironde,
the beginning of November, 1793.*

EVERY thing that could impart happiness to a man of sensibility, with a taste for simple enjoyments, was mine before the revolution. I lived in the country, to which I was passionately attached. There I composed works, the success of which had begun what I called my little fortune. In reality it was little, and my ambition was the same. Deeply enamoured of independence, at an early period I had learnt, that the sole mean of securing it's enjoyment was to narrow the sphere of my wants as much as possible. Luxury, therefore, the offspring of the coquetry of my early youth, I had discarded; and I had embraced sobriety, necessary to the health of every one, still more necessary to the labours of a man of letters. I had so limited my expenses, that eight hundred livres (33l. 6s. 8d.) a year were sufficient to answer them. The first seven volumes of my first work, printed on my own account, produced me a much larger income.

Shut up in a garden, a few leagues from Paris, out of the reach of impertinent visitors, I wrote, in the spring of 1789, six small volumes; which, accelerating also

the sale of the former, were to constitute the basis of my little fortune. They would have produced me thrice the profit, but for those great events, which in the course of that year attracted the attention of all; thus stifling works of mere amusement, and facilitating the operations of those piratical booksellers, who live only on the spoils of authors. Apropos of my little book, I hope every impartial person will do me the justice to confess, that, amidst the levities with which it is filled, a great love of philosophy will be found, at least in the serious passages, where the author himself comes forward, and more especially republican principles, rare as they were at the period when I wrote.

We had some cause to dislike a revolution, which, if it did not destroy our hopes, must, at least, retard their accomplishment. But it was just, it was lovely. How could we avoid being enamoured with it, even though it wounded our dearest interests? I have only to write another work, said I to the friend of my heart, and pursue my labours a little longer. If the delay of our happiness produce the happiness of mankind, shall we not find pleasure in the sacrifice? My mistress applauded my sentiments.

What a woman! what generosity! what greatness of mind! well was she worthy of the immortal passion, with which she had inspired me. We had been as it were brought up together. Our love was born, and had grown with us. But when she entered her sixteenth year, she had been obliged to give her hand to a man of wealth, and he carried her three hundred miles from me. Six years after she returned, At this

this period beholding each other again, that passion, which will only die with us, displayed itself to us in all its force. Alas! perhaps it prepares for my beloved many dangers, and many misfortunes.

I might now mention her name without hazard to herself, for she is my wife, and I shall be exposed to no persecution, in which she will not participate; but her innocent relations would be exposed to the vengeance of our persecutors, and therefore her name must be concealed. I will give her that of the generous daughter of one republican, and the worthy spouse of another, whose characters I have delineated in an episode in my first romance. Who would have supposed, in 1786, when I wrote the conflicts, the dangers, the noble misfortunes of Pulawski, that my fate would soon bear such striking resemblance to his; and that for my consolation, my happiness, I should find in my wife, then adorned only with the enchanting graces and timid virtues of her sex, that proud courage, that strong resolution, those masculine virtues, which ours so rarely possesses? Who would have told me, that she would have all the magnanimity and fortitude, which I gave the spouse of Lowzinski? Great God, could I ever have imagined, that she would experience almost all the misfortunes, which I invented for *Lodziska*? By this name, then, I will henceforward call her.

I was with her, sixty miles from Paris, when we heard, that the Bastille was taken. At that instant I received from her hands a gift, valuable on every account, the three-coloured cockade. Were the inexpressible agitation I experienced, and the tears that

gushed from my eyes, when she pinned her ribbons to my hat, a presentiment of the rugged labours I was doomed afterwards to go through, in those grand enterprises, which then affected me but indirectly? Be it as it may, that single cockade, worn by me in a town where aristocracy kept a jealous eye, was near bringing me into much trouble. Had not the great news been fully confirmed the next day, I should have undergone a criminal prosecution. Such was my entrance into the toilsome career.

Long was I only a spectator; I had promised myself so to remain always. Men enough then defended the dearest interests of the people; and those of my love almost wholly occupied me.

But, after the affair of October, 1789, Mounier having taken upon him, in a truly inflammatory writing, to accuse Paris, then blameless, instead of bravely attacking the Orleans faction, alone guilty of the crimes, that stained the just insurrection of that month; indignation put a pen into my hand, I published the pamphlet entitled *Paris justified*. This procured my admission into the society of the Jacobins, which then received no members, unless possessed of some talents and true civism. I believe it was about the third month of it's institution. Residing almost wholly in the country, I was seldom present at it's meetings; and when there, contented myself with the part of a spectator.

All my works, however, were from that period directed to the support of the revolution. Such was *Emilia de Varmont*, a romance, undertaken with the design of showing the general utility, and sometimes the

the necessity, of divorce, and the marriage of the clergy.

Such were two comedies, still in my desk. One of them, in five acts, was entitled *The noble Conspirator, or the Gentleman Cit of the eighteenth Century*. In this I attacked, with the weapons of comic satire, the ridiculous prejudice of nobility, old or new, three or four months previous to the decree, by which it was abolished. N—, afterwards commissioner of the committee of safety with Wimpfen, at the time of the insurrection at Caen; N—, who, after the revolution of May 31, affirmed, in the departments in a state of an insurrection, that he and the mountain were the true republicans, and we, who founded the republic, royalists; prevented its reception at the theatre of the nation, because, he said, it was *inflammatory*. I then carried my play to the french theatre in Richelieu street. One of the managers, Mr. d'Orfeuil, heard me read the first three acts, not without the utmost impatience. Unable to contain himself longer, he stopped me, exclaiming, that it would be impossible to perform the piece, unless under the protection of a battery of cannon. This very man, an aristocratic feoffee before the 10th of August, now accuses us of royalism, and gives himself out for a republican. It was this monster of imposture and cruelty, who presided at that horrible committee, which, in *Commune Affranchie*, murdered six thousand republicans, out of eight thousand victims, and yet he pretends, that there were only seventeen hundred people executed.

The other comedy was a severe, yet merry, satire on the mummuries of the court of Rome. Its title was *The*

Election and Audience of Sispi the Grand Lama. The manuscript remains in the possession of Talma, of the theatre in Richelieu street.

The only one, that I have been able to bring out, was a sort of farce, called *The grand Review of the black and white Armies.* It's title sufficiently indicates it's object, which was to ridicule the army of Coblenz. It was performed five and twenty times.

On all important occasions I repaired to my section. There I sometimes spoke, for the aristocrats frequently came thither in force, whilst of patriots there was a deficiency. Thus I spoke there from time to time, but I avoided *the honours of office*, which I might easily have obtained. I was one of the first to enter my name on the registers of the national guard; one of the first to furnish my patriotic contribution; one of the first on the jury of accusation. Thus I fulfilled all the less striking duties of the revolution, continually avoiding it's more brilliant offices. Never was I known to seek the triumphs of the tribune, or the gratifications of popularity. The moment arrived, when, as it were, in spite of myself, I was to mount it.

The cause of the people had been gradually deprived of most of it's defenders, either by death, or by corruption. The court had gone so far as openly to conspire against the accepted constitution. All the parties who laboured to destroy it, were assured of the monarch's support. The bicamerists * of La Fayette,

* They who were for dividing the representatives into two bodies, or chambers. T.

the priests of abbe Maury, and the nobles of the army of Condé, were equally encouraged by the distribution of money, newspapers well feed, officious *vetos*, and all the most detestable manœuvres of machiavelianism. I was of the small number of hardy philosophers, who, at the end of 1791, lamented the fate of a great nation, obliged to stop midway in the career of liberty, and call itself free whilst it had still a court and a king. Too happy, however, at having seen the reform of so many ancient abuses, I had promised with sincerity, like many others, to be faithful to that castrated constitution; hoping, that time would bring on the cure of it's last wounds, without convulsion, without laceration, without hemorrhage. Yes, by that being who reads the secrets of all hearts, I swear, if the court had not a thousand times, and perpetually, endeavoured to rob us of our half-liberty, I would have expected perfect freedom only from the course of time. But the conspiracy of the court became too plain to be doubted. Not content with fomenting internal revolt, it called in foreign assistance. A guilty king, in violating all his oaths, freed us from our's. He sought to bring us back to the ancient state of despotism; well, then, we would give him a republic; and, whilst our country was in such imminent danger, he must be criminal, who failed to augment the feeble band that combated for her.

I imparted my sentiments to my Lodoiska. Her love shuddered, whilst her civism could not but applaud them. "You would have my consent," said she: "alas! to what period do we defer the sweet projects

“ of our cabin* ! Through what storms must we pass !
 “ Necessity demands it, however, I confess. May a
 “ sacrifice so great receive due acknowledgment; may
 “ we never have reason to repent it ! ”

I now entered the lists. Indignant at the manœuvres of those nobles, who were endeavouring to arm all Europe against their country for the establishment of the most intolerable abuses, I presented my *petition against the princes* at the bar of the legislative assembly, on the 25th of December, 1792. In the senate, and throughout the whole empire, it had a prodigious success, of which I think it was not altogether unworthy. At least it is one of the best pieces that ever came from my hands. In the papers it was variously disfigured; but Baudouin published a small edition of it, by order of the assembly, and this may be consulted with confidence, as the proofs were corrected by myself.

I drew up two other petitions; one against that of the department of Paris, which had intreated the king to put his *veto* on the decree against the priests, I think; of the other I forget the occasion. These two Baudouin printed, by order of the assembly.

In January, 1792, on a discussion of importance, I appeared in the tribune of that celebrated society, in which I had till that time kept myself in complete obscurity.

• What these were will be seen hereafter.

Caverns of Jura, april 19, 1794,

*germinal 30, in the 2d year of the
french republic, one and indivisible.*

AFTER a thousand perils am I arrived in these solitudes. I hoped for an asylum here : is there one upon earth for a republican ? Every moment am I liable to be forced to quit this place, to go——O God ! thou wilt receive me into thy bosom.

More than ever am I in want of leisure. I must not think of writing memoirs, I must make memorandums, sacrificing the least important circumstances, and minutiae of detail. The person with whom I left my first fragment in Gironde, will add it, I hope, to this. I believe I broke off at the moment when I was going to speak, for the first time, at the jacobins.

It was on the grand question of war. On that subject I observed, I think, that four factions then divided the state. The first was that of the feuillans, at the head of which was La Fayette, appointed general and commander in chief. He had consented to allow the austrians to penetrate the french territories, thinking with their assistance to crush the jacobins, and obtain such a constitution as the english. The second was that of the cordeliers which attempted to dethrone Lewis XVI, with a view to raise Philip of Orleans in his stead. The apparent heads of this faction were Robespierre and Danton ; the secret head, Marat. It must be observed, that Danton and Robespierre mutually

ally entertained within their own breasts the desire of supplanting each other at some future period: Danton reckoning on being able to rule with absolute sway the council of regency, of which Philip would never have been any thing more than the nominal master: Robespierre flattering himself with the expectation of obtaining the dictatorship, after triumphing over all his rivals. The third party, yet small in number, but of great weight from superiority of talents, was that of the true jacobins, who were desirous of a republic. In this were distinguished Condorcet, Roland, and Brissot. It is to be noted, that scarcely any one of the jacobins was a cordelier, but that almost all the cordeliers were jacobins, and made open war on them even in their own hall, Robespierre being their general spokesman. The contests between these two parties, and their situation at the beginning of 1792, were tolerably well described in a pamphlet, which I published about the end of that year, or the beginning of 1793, entitled, *To Maximilian Robespierre and his Royalists*. The fourth faction was that of the court, which employed all the rest to crush each other: that of La Fayette, by flattering him with two chambers; that of the cordeliers, by urging it on the jacobins; that of the jacobins, by exciting it to raise an insurrection, which the court party hoped to turn to it's own advantage. Thus La Fayette having opened France to foreigners, and the jacobins having marched against the Thuilleries, under the walls of which it was expected they would all have fallen; neither the constitution of 1789, nor the english constitution, nor a republic, would have taken place; but

the ancient system would have been established, with all its oppressions, increased rather than softened.

Under these circumstances was moved at the jacobins the grand question, whether war ought to be declared against Austria. The cordeliers were against it, because it would give too much power to La Fayette, the greatest enemy of Orleans: the jacobins were for it, because a peace of six months would have fixed a despotic crown on the head of Lewis, or put an usurped sceptre into the hands of Orleans; whilst war alone, speedy war, could give us a republic. On this occasion burst forth the grand schism between the faction of Robespierre and the party of Brissot. I, who had never seen the latter, who thought of nothing but a republic, spoke on this question. My first speech made some impression; and my second, one of the best things I ever composed, bore severely on Robespierre. He felt it, and could not reply a single word that day; but on the succeeding days he stammered out five or six answers, wrote, and wrote, and wrote, and set on foot all the bloodhounds of the cordelier party, to calumniate the new orator in the coffee-houses, and knots of street-politicians.

Scarcely had I entered the lists, when my perils commenced. One thing worthy of remark is, that I have never been able to know, whether it be true, that popularity has some gratifications. The moment I began to serve the people, I was slandered to them; and the more ardent I was in maintaining their interests, the more was I pursued by their hate. It is true, that after my two speeches at the jacobins, printed and sent every where at their expense, I mounted rapidly to the posts

of secretary and vice-president. It is somewhat striking, that deputies alone could be chosen to the presidency, and that, while I was vice-president, Bazire filled the office. Thus, if the real jacobins carried the vice-presidency, the presidency fell to the cordeliers. Yet, whilst I write this, I languish in exile, and Bazire has been guillotined. Robespierre has made his way through both parties. My election, however, was the work of some enlightened republicans: but the many, the stupid multitude, already robespierized, detested me.

The first step the future dictator took, to remove at his outset a new combatant, whose courage and abilities much alarmed him, was this. With Dumouriez, who then called himself a republican, as he does to-day a feuillant, and as he would to-morrow an aristocrat, would it serve his vast ambition, supported indeed by talents of no less extent, three true republicans, Roland, Servan, and Claviere, were joined in the administration. All four were for war. I knew not one of them: not one of them knew me, except by my success at the recent debate, when I had gained over to their opinions all those jacobins, who were honest in the cause. A minister of justice was wanting: the four ministers cast their eyes on me: it was resolved, that my name should be presented to the king, at the next council, when I should infallibly have been accepted, as at that time it entered into the plan of the court, to compose the whole administration just as the new ministers should require. The council was to be held the next day but one: but the same day Robespierre and all the cordeliers

learnt,

learnt, that I was to be named. Thus, then, they went to work the next day.

Early in the morning the bloodhounds went about proclaiming, that I had been arrived from Coblenz only about three months, and had insinuated myself into the jacobins, to set them at variance. At noon I took a walk on the terrace of the Feuillans, passing by very tumultuous groupes of people, and not suspecting, that I was the object of their threats. Chabot, whom I knew only by sight, very charitably came to inform me of it; and with a tone of great kindness added, that I should do well not to go to the Jacobins that evening, where I might be in some danger. It will be seen, that these gentlemen would have found it very convenient to calumniate me, when I was not present to answer them. I paid no regard however to his advice, but went in the evening to the Jacobins. A fortunate circumstance enabled me to cross the courts without being known, where bravoës, most of whom are now members of the revolutionary tribunal, waited for me armed with large bludgeons. I entered the hall at the very instant when the eternal denunciator, Robespierre, was denouncing in vague terms emigrants introduced into the society, &c. ; and the people in the galleries, their heads full of the tales of the morning, applauded him furiously. Robespierre ended with demanding, that a committee should examine the new members, and expel them from the society. I begged leave to speak in support of the motion: but Robespierre opposed this, saying, that I sought to disturb the society; and then he began anew to accuse me indirectly of emigration, taking great care not to mention my name. I insisted on being heard:

heard : the galleries, having received the signal, rose in a fury. On every side I beheld fists and bludgeons. Fifty jacobins, indignant at this, assembled round me, and offered to accompany me to my own door. One of them, named Bois, said : “ I will do more : they would not hear you, but they shall hear you.” Then, rushing into the midst of the hall, he exclaimed : “ Yes, undoubtedly there is a traitor here.” The cordeliers, allured by these words, were instantly silent, and the gentle galleries followed their example. “ But I will not accuse this traitor indirectly : I will name him : it is Louvet.” Immediately I rushed to the tribune. Robespierre again endeavoured to prevent my speaking ; but it was no longer possible. Being denounced by name, I must answer. The society ordered me to speak. I did so : I gave an account of all my revolutionary life since 1789, citing places, persons, and facts. My justification was so successful, that the very galleries at length applauded me. The consequence was, Robespierre the next day propagated a report, that I had caused myself to be denounced, that I might have an opportunity of making my panegyric, and all because I wished to be minister of justice.

I was not afraid of taking upon me the office ; but I swear, I was not desirous of it. The very day that the council was to be held, I received at ten in the morning a complimentary letter from the deputy Hérault-Séchelle, whom I did not know. This intriguer announced to me my nomination, to which, he said, he had greatly contributed : and then he asked for one of the first places in the office, for an old secretary of his, possibly, like him, a secret agent of Austria. Another came to

tell

tell me, that he had just left Dumouriez, who had assured him, that I should be nominated that evening. But at a dinner, where the ministers, with some deputies were present, every thing was changed. Duranton, of Bourdeaux, a heavy ignorant fellow, and above all extremely timid, was preferred to me ; this was the first false step of the republican party ; which it paid dearly, and which cost my country much blood and many tears. By what strange fatality is it, that a change in the destination of one man should so powerfully affect the fate of an empire ? Had I been minister of justice, I should assuredly have signed that famous letter of Roland, to which the weak and ambitious Duranton refused to accede. Culpable in the same sense as the three ministers, I should have been dismissed with them. Participating in their honourable disgrace, I should likewise have obtained the public esteem ; with them I should have been restored on the 10th of august, as minister of justice. Royalism, in disguise, would not have enveloped the cradle of the republic with the horrors of september ; the faction of the cordeliers would not have terrified the electors of Paris into the choice of those deputies, of whom some were so fatal to France. The british government, having no means of exciting it's people against us, would have sought in vain a pretext for war. Robespierre, had he not changed his conduct, would have fallen ; and with him Pache and his insolent commune, Chaumette, Hébert, *the grand exterminator*, and the herd of vile rascals in the pay of the combined powers, would have fallen too, or been forced to hide their heads. The republic would have been established.

Lanthenas,

Lanthenas, however, carried me to the minister of the home department, who had a strong desire to be acquainted with me. O ! Roland ! Roland ! what virtues were assassinated in thee ! what virtues, what charms, what talents, in thy wife, still greater than thyself ! both urged me to write in a cause, which had need of the intimate union of all, who were capable of promoting it. War was declared ; the court, evidently in concert with Austria, betrayed our armies : it was necessary, that the eyes of the people should be opened to so many plots. I wrote *The Centinel* ; the minister was at the expense of it. My narrow fortune would not have defrayed the publication of a journal posted up at every corner (*un journal-affiche*), of many numbers of which more than twenty thousand were printed off. They, who have studied Paris and the departments, know how serviceable *The Centinel* was to France, at a period when a foreign enemy, emboldened by interior alliances, threatened to overrun every thing.

A short time after this Dumouriez, desirous of reigning at the council, elbowed out the ministers Servant, Claviere, and Roland. That very day I was told, in confidence, that he had it in his mind to make me ambassador to Constantinople. There were even some journals which announced it : but this did not prevent my inserting in the following number of *The Centinel* a very strong paragraph against the conduct of the favourite minister. I never heard any farther mention of my embassy.

It was about the same period, that Briffot and Guadet wanted to send me as a commissioner to St. Domingo. Guadet, in particular, insisted on it a long time with great warmth. Two passions, equally strong, held me back :

back : the love of Lodoiska, who, not being then my wife, could not have accompanied me, and the love of my country in danger. On my repeated refusal, the office was bestowed on Santhonax. Had I accepted it, Santhonax would have been proscribed instead of me ; and I should have been now fighting with the english in St. Domingo instead of him.

At length came the insurrection of the 10th of august: What I did on that day I have elsewhere said : but I did not say, what was a fact, that I contributed to the preservation of some swiss soldiers, whom the satellites of Orleans, that fled at the first volley, came to massacre when the combat was over. Many of these unfortunate fellows I got into the passages of the national assembly, whence they reached the diplomatic committee, in the closets of which Brissot and Gensonné concealed several. Another fact, not less noticeable, though of a different kind, is, that Danton, who had concealed himself during the battle, appeared after the victory, armed with a huge sabre, and marching at the head of the battalion of marseillaise, as if he had been the hero of the day. As to Robespierre, still more a coward, though not less a hypocrite, he durst not show himself for more than four and twenty hours after : yet this did not prevent his ascribing all the success to the council of the commune, whither he went to command as a despot the next day but one, namely the 12th.

And the 2d of september following they threatened us all. The fearful Robespierre proscribed from the tribune : the *grand exterminator* issued his decrees of death. The deaths of Brissot, Vergniaud, Guader, Condorcet, Roland, Mrs. Roland, my Lodoiska, and

myself, were resolved on. Vile impostors, infamous royalists, were we federalists then? No; but, to serve the combined powers, ye invented other calumnies.

Were we federalists in the earliest days of the convention? Yet ye proscribed us even then: ye proscribed two thirds of the assembly: ye posted up, that *a new insurrection was wanting; that, seeing the stamp of the greater part of the deputies to the convention, ye despaired of the commonwealth.* O people of talk, ye said, *would ye but act!**

Were we federalists in february 1793? Amidst the heap of calumnies, with which ye incessantly pursued us, that was not then invented, yet ye proscribed us then.

Ye proscribed us the 10th of march: but, far from thinking of accusing us of federalism, ye set the example of it, as I shall presently show.

A few days afterwards ye came to the bar of the assembly, to proscribe us through the mouth of Pache. Ye asked but for two and twenty heads, till ye could do better; and ye accused us of every thing except federalism.

The 31st of may ye came sword in hand to seize us, yet still it was not of federalism ye accused us.

Nay, many weeks after, when ye employed the ingenious St. Just to invent crimes for us, ye had the absurdity to accuse us of federalism and royalism together.

A few months after federalism remained alone; but in whose mouth? Gods! in that of Barrere!

If ever federalism existed it was with you alone, with you, who imputed it to us.

Ye proclaimed it the 2d of september, in your circular address, in which ye declared, ye no longer knew

* See the placards of Marat.

the representative assembly, the only centre round which we could rally ; in which ye said of your municipality of Paris, *that it had just resumed the power of the people* ; in which ye invited the other sections of the empire to adopt your measures ; which was saying to each department, in other words, all the authority, all the treasures, all the means of government are our's ; for you liberty is no more, the republic is no more, unless on your parts you hasten also *to resume* the portion of power that comes to you, in which case, if you can avoid anarchy, you will have federalism.

Ye proclaimed it anew in the manifesto of your abortive revolt of the 10th of march, when your insurgents demanded, *as the supreme and only efficacious measure, that the department of Paris, a constituent part of the sovereign, should exercise, at that moment, the sovereignty belonging to it.* So that to establish federalism, each department had only to will, you having set the example, to EXERCISE it's portion of sovereignty ; acknowledging, on certain points, a common tie, which ye, in your tyranny, would not admit.

Federalism existed when a member of the mountain, invested with unlimited power, went to dictate to each department arbitrary laws, to which the adjacent departments were not subjected. It existed, when a score of dictators, dismembering the common empire, went to create a score of empires. It existed when Lebon reigned despotically in the north, Maignet in the south, Carrier in the west, Collot-d'Herbois at Lyons, each according to his own fancy, or passions, in various manners ; and, good Heavens ! in what manner ? Barbarians, they agreed but on one point, to shed torrents on torrents of blood !

Affuredly federalism existed, it existed in guilt; but, tyrants, it existed only through you, and for you.

Yet some men, who have been strangely imposed on, exclaim, the departments *federalized*, to march against the convention. Against the convention! Never! For it, if you please. But what say you, *federalized*? On the 14th of july, were the sections of Paris *federalists*, when, each singly being too weak, they *confederated* together to overturn the Bastille? On the 10th of august, were the battalion of Finisterre, the battalion of Marseilles, and the numerous battalions of Paris, *federalists*, when they *confederated* together, to attack the palace? Were those twelve hundred thousand soldiers *federalists*, who from all parts of the republic ran to the frontiers, and *confederated* against the foreign enemy, whom they overpowered? To *confederate*, then, is to *federalize*; what wretched abuse of words! how pitiable!

But when it is considered, that this abuse of words was capable of conducting to the scaffold more than a hundred thousand of the most courageous, most enlightened, most honest republicans; how horrible!

I will not repeat here what I have elsewhere published respecting the labours of the electoral body at Paris. The elections of the departments might remedy at least this evil. Pethion, Sieyes, Thomas Paine, Condorcet, Guadet, &c., rejected by the faction of Paris, were elected by the people of the departments. That of Loiret, where I had not one private friend, not a single correspondent, and in which I had never once made my appearance, named me one of it's deputies. This, however,

however, was termed intriguing by them, who in the capital had carried their election by means of poniards.

It was on the 10th of August, 1792, that I engaged myself to conduct the *Journal of the Debates*. They dared to assert, in the lying piece of Amar, called the Bill of Indictment of the *Federalist* Deputies, that I was paid 12,000 livres (L. 500) a year, for telling lies to all Europe in that *Journal*. The fact was, after the 10th of August, Baudouin, the proprietor of the *Journal*, perceiving it would be ruined, unless conducted by some known patriot, not destitute of talents, came and pressed me to undertake it; I refused. He then solicited Guadet, Briffot, and Condorcet, to write to me on the subject, and brought me a letter from each. I acquiesced. Baudouin offered me my own terms. The former editor, who was scarcely known, had 6000L (L. 250), I asked 10000L (L. 416. 13. 4); and Baudouin certainly made a good bargain, for his subscribers were soon tripled. I employed two fellow labourers, yet my dear Lodoiska, also, was obliged to do much. Alas! this was the source of the greatest misfortune, perhaps, that I now feel; perhaps, whilst, languishing in a perilous exile, I expect my dear wife, she is under arrest! It was at this period she became known to my enemies: it was then they learnt the value of her literary talents, her strength of mind, and her affection for me. It was then, that Amar, under pretence of waiting on her home, came to my house several times against her wish. He was desirous, he said, of making his court to her, and of opening my eyes to the snares laid for me by Roland, Briffot, and all my pretended friends: that is to say, sent by the faction, he durst flatter him-

self with the hope of seducing my wife, and corrupting me. However, he saw us in our domestic life, and soon despaired of effecting his purposes. One day, as he came out of the assembly, where he had just been making a sanguinary motion, he came up to my wife, and wanted to say some *soft things* to her. With a distant air, stopping him short, she said, "Sir, I heard what you uttered but this moment in the assembly, and I despise you." He visited our house no more, and became our most bitter enemy. This man blushed not to affix his name to that infamous piece, that bill of indictment, which led the most virtuous of the republicans to the scaffold. This man said, *that I told falsehoods* to all Europe; true, I did tell falsehoods, for I depicted not him, I depicted not his fellows, in colours black as they deserved. Finally, this man, member of that committee of general safety, now invested with all the power requisite to produce ill without bounds; this man, minister of the proscriptions of a new Sylla, omnipotent in guilt, holds, perhaps, my wife immured in his deathful prisons.---O! Lodoiska! my dear, Lodoiska! if thou perish, I shall have been the cause of thy death, but I will not survive thee long!

On the 21st of September the convention commenced its sittings, and the very next day Robespierre and Marat went to the Jacobins, to preach insurrection against the convention. A few weeks after Robespierre dared to complain to the convention of what he called slanders propagated against him, and challenge an accuser. Instantly I rose. The accusation preferred against him produced the greatest effect: fifty deputies attested the crimes I announced, the least

of which ought to have brought that man to the scaffold. The coward thought his last hour was arrived, and came to me to solicit grace. If Pethion, who had not then been sufficiently slandered by them to have lost his immense influence, and on whom I had repeatedly called, had thought fit to say openly a quarter of what he knew, Robespierre and his accomplice would have been impeached on the spot. At that time, detested throughout the republic, and having in Paris a party very inferior to that of the convention, they would have received the due punishment of their guilt. The infamous Orleans, and a score of subaltern villains, would have returned to their original nothingness: a Barrere, a Lacroix, and a multitude of vile intriguers, always ready to drag the car of the reigning party, would have remained *Rolandists*: the republic would have been saved.

Pethion, Guadet, Vergniaud, thus committed a fault, in not answering my frequent calls on them for their testimony; and another was weak enough to blame me in his paper for bringing forward the accusation.

Robespierre, however, was so thunderstruck, as to demand a week for his reply. At the expiration of this term he filled the galleries, by nine in the morning, with all the male and female jacobins he could muster. The dictator spoke for two hours, without answering my charges; and I had no doubt of crushing him by my reply. The *girondists* rose with the *mountain* to prevent my speaking. For me I saw none but the haughty Barbaroux, the brave Buzot, the virtuous Lanjuinais, and our vigorous *right hand side*. Brissot, Vergniaud, Condorcet, and Gensonné, thought, that passing to the

order of the day, if it saved Robespierre, would disgrace him so completely, as to deprive him of all future influence: as if disgrace had any weight with that sanguinary faction, and as if physical impunity would not harden him in guilt. This wonderful step of the republican party rent my heart. From that moment I foresaw, that, sooner or later, the poniard men would prevail over the men of principle; that moment I announced to my dear Lodoiska, that we must prepare ourselves to expect banishment or the scaffold.

Salle, Barbarot, Buzot, and myself, ceased not to denounce the Orleans faction; Brissot, Guadet, Pethion, and Vergniaud, seconded us but feebly. Hebert and Marat were incessantly spreading slanders in their highly popular papers. Pache, after having deceived Roland by his assumed garb of republicanism and virtue, deceived and betrayed the nation, by unhinging every thing in the war department, and shackling in a thousand ways the conquering genius of Dumouriez, at that time a sincere republican, whatever he may be now. The armies were filled with preachers of insubordination and plunder; and the staff of each abounded with the satellites of faction. The war office, the jacobins, the cordeliers, the sections, which thirty rascals swayed by fear, resounded with the cries of revolt. Our galleries insulted us, threatened us, and deprived us of liberty of speech. Yet our unhappy friends saw a single remedy for so many evils, *the plan of the constitution which they were finishing*: and when any one spoke to them of a vigorous step against the conspirators, they answered with the most deplorable frigidity, that care must be taken, not to exasperate men naturally violent.

In general, it is time now to remark, amongst the victims of the 31st of May were many men distinguished for talents; and capable of purifying the morals, regenerating the manners, and augmenting the prosperity of a republic in peace, and of deserving well of their country by their private conduct and public virtues; but there was not one of them accustomed to the tumult of factions, or calculated for those vigorous strokes, by which conspirators are beaten down; not one, who had a mind for suspecting base designs, taking in at one comprehensive view the vast plan of a conspiracy, or combating it, if at length perceived, with other weapons than those of morality and pompous speeches. I except Salle, Buzot, and Barbaroux, who, from the beginning, knew well the Orleans faction, and united with me to oppose it on every opportunity. But the penetration of these extended no farther: there was only Salle, whom I could persuade, that England and Austria had their chief agents amongst the Jacobins; and I remember, that Guadet, Pethion, and even Barbaroux, when I said, six months after the 31st of May, that Marat and his band were certainly in the pay of the combined powers, exclaimed against it in the Gironde. Sometimes, in an indignant moment, Guadet, indeed, would say the same; but it was metaphorically; and assuredly he would never have suffered what he called that hypothesis, to regulate his conduct in the assembly. Honest themselves, they could not credit such crimes: and, therefore, I ceased not to warn them, that sooner or later they would be the victims of their incredulity.

By

By little and little I have been anticipating events. Let us return to the order of the day on the accusation against Robespierre. Not being allowed to speak, I resolved to write and publish my reply, which I entitled, *To Maximilian Robespierre and his Royalists*. In this I depicted all the manœuvres of Robespierre at the Jacobins in 1792, the faction of the cordeliers, the turpitude of the electoral body of 1792, the designs of the Orleans faction, and the ambitious projects of the several leaders. Almost every thing I said has since been realised, except that, contrary to my expectation, and contrary to all probability, Robespierre, a man of very moderate abilities, triumphed over Danton. I say very moderate; for the pompous reports he has published since, all power being united in him as the principal member of the committee of public safety, he has had the assignats at his disposal, can impose upon no one as well acquainted with him as I am. An execrable author, and very feeble writer, he possesses now no talents, but what he has it in his power to purchase.

The minister for the home department, Roland, who was sensible of the irreparable fault of that order of the day, sought to amend it, as far as possible, by making the nation acquainted with all the crimes of the dictators of September. He sent a great many copies of my pamphlet to the departments, and I have no doubt but this great publicity retarded for many weeks the dreadful success of the faction.

About the same time Buzot and I gave him another blow, which he sensibly felt. We demanded and obtained a decree for the expulsion of the Bourbons. A

revolt

revolt of the jacobins, the cordeliers, and the commune, made us withdraw it: but we obtained, at least, this advantage from it, we compelled the faction to show itself, so that none but such as were quite blind, or hypocrites, could dispute it, or see it elsewhere than on the famous mountain.

Certainly I well deserved the honour of being expelled from the society of the jacobins, in which not above thirty of it's ancient members remained, it being filled with cordeliers. My name was struck out the same day with those of Roland, Lanthenas, and Girey Dupré, a coadjutor in Brissot's paper, and a young man of great talents, great courage, and a truly republican spirit.

We are now arrived at the affair of Capet, on which I have some important circumstances to relate. Salle moved in the assembly the appeal to the people. I supported it: from what motives may easily be seen, and how far events have justified my predictions. My speech, which was not delivered, because the debate was closed the moment I rose, has at least been printed. Amongst our orators, Vergniaud answered Robespierre, and silenced him. Worthy and unfortunate Vergniaud, why didst thou not more frequently overcome thy native indolence! and why did thine eyes refuse to see, when a thousand fatal ambuses were laid around the representative body! Even after the 10th of march they remained shut: they were not opened till the 31st of may; alas, too late!

What horrors! yet they formed but the prelude of the horrors prepared for us! Not long after the 10th of march, a formidable and unexpected enemy increased

increased the number of our foes, already too great; Dumouriez too joined the faction of Orleans.

Whilst I am writing, his memoirs have appeared. He there pretends to have been ever a friend to monarchy; but I owe it to the cause of truth to declare, and to prove, that for a time he was a sincere republican.

That he wished to preserve Lewis XVI on the throne, when, being his prime minister, he was more king than the person who bore the title, I can easily conceive; but that after the 10th of august he remained the faithful servant of a prince dethroned, I know the ambitious general too well not to assert, it is impossible. Besides, do I not know, that, after the 10th of august, Dumouriez was the first to denounce La Fayette, who made his troops take the oath of obedience to the king? Do I not know, that at this period he wrote letter after letter to the committee of twenty-one of the legislative assembly, and that thus he obtained the command in chief? Is it not known to all Europe, that, but for him, Brunswic would have been at Paris before the end of autumn? He will say, that for the honour and safety of France, a very zealous friend to monarchy might not choose, that a foreigner should give laws in it's capital, and might also have wished to retake from him Verdun and Longwi. I allow it: but were not the victory of Gemappe, the conquest of Belgium, and the projected and almost accomplished invasion of Holland, something more than constitutional acts?

After having stopped, repulsed, driven before him, and almost destroyed, in one ever famous campaign, a hundred thousand veteran soldiers, the best in Europe,

and commanded by one of it's most celebrated generals, with only thirty-five thousand new-raised troops; after having retaken two strong places; to vanquish the enemy at Gemappe, to conquer Belgium, and next to give the combined powers a decisive blow, by seizing the harbours and the wealth of Holland; then, with an army flushed with victory, and reinforced with sixty thousand dutch and brabantines, to take Cobourg in the rear, beat him, force Austria to a peace, England to silence, and all Europe to admiration; and thus to become the real founder of the french republic, and arbiter of the fate of the world; was a part grand enough to tempt the man of the greatest genius, and the most ambitious of mankind.

To this Dumouriez aspired; this part Dumouriez would have acted. But the foreign faction, which feared nothing so much as him, soon perceived, that a check must be given him, the inevitable effect of which would be to tumble him from his height, or compel him to flee to it. For this end Pache, then minister at war, and Hassenfratz, his chief clerk, exerted themselves to render the troops of Dumouriez in want of every thing. For this end they sent to his army as many orleanist soldiers as possible, indefatigable in preaching plunder, and insubordination. For this end the council, where Roland was no longer heard but with dislike, where every one united against his too austere virtues, where Monge and Pache bore the sway, and on which Dumouriez knows well, though he takes great care not to say it, the republican party in the convention had then no influence, ravaged Belgium through the instrumentality of that *Ronsin*, that *Chepy*, that *Etienne*, and that band

band of commissioners of the executive power, who were secretly and particularly charged to render France, and it's *pretended* republican government, odious; and for this purpose to employ every kind of violence, extortions, despotism, robbery, and crime, that such villains could invent; just as certain commissioners, invested at a distance from the convention with more power than itself possessed, were charged by the same faction to render the *nominal* republic for ever detestable in the departments. It was for this end, that one of the commissioners of the convention, chosen by the then omnipotent *mountain* to repair to Belgium, was *Lacroix*; a man more capable singly of stripping the belgians, than the whole swarm of thieves before sent by the council. It was for this end, that Marat, the principal agent of England, incessantly aspersed the character of the general, in his paper, which was daily hawked about, even under the very nose of Dumouriez; that he laboured indefatigably to deprive him of the confidence of his soldiers; and that, knowing with what snares he was surrounded, what insurmountable obstacles were thrown in his way, and what treachery was ultimately reserved for him, he *predicted* with confidence, that the general would be an emigrant before the end of spring.

These methods succeeded! and Dumouriez, his brilliant hopes betrayed, was not ashamed to coalesce with them, who had just ravished from him all his means of fortune and of glory, against them, to whom he owed every thing, and who, in their day of power, had done every thing to promote his success! He blushed not to coalesce with the *Lacroixes*, the

vilest

vilest scoundrels that earth ever vomited forth, against a Vergniaud, a Condorcet, a Payne, and other unfortunate republicans, to whom, in spite of the calumnies now heaped upon them, posterity, impartial posterity, will do justice. And in his memoirs it is not to the worthy chief of the horrid mountair, that Dumouriez most frequently addresses his reproaches; it is my unhappy friends, on whom, by voluntary omissions, affected silence, or direct slanders, he would fix the opprobrium of the different decrees, which they constantly opposed, and to which they have fallen victims. Nay, over the very graves of republicans does he insult their virtues, which he persecuted, and their benefits, which he repaid with treachery. O Dumouriez! thus mayest thou make thy court to the kings of Europe; but there is such a thing as history, which would have told only of thy talents, but which will relate thy horrible perfidy, and all thy basenesses.

In spite of the manœuvres of Hassenfratz and Pache, Dumouriez began his campaign, and his happy audacity triumphed over all obstacles. The faction perceived, that he would inevitably take Holland; and then general *Stingel* (I think it was) left a free passage to Cobourg, whom it would have been easy to have stopped. A column of thirty thousand imperialists fell from the clouds, as it were, without being perceived, and broke up our cantonments. Dumouriez was thus forced to leave the expedition he had so happily begun, and to return to Belgium, to put himself at the head of a disheartened army. To this he restored some strength, some consistency, some discipline,

pline, and obtained an advantage of some importance at Tirlemont.

The engagement of Nerwinde followed. The defeat of the left wing brought on the loss of the battle. Listen to Miranda, he will tell you, that he was sacrificed by Dumouriez: listen to Dumouriez, he will say, that Miranda suffered himself to be beaten, to rob him of the victory. I, who know, that the faction equally detested both, am inclined to believe, that it alone occasioned the disasters of that day. It was decisive: and every thing seems to indicate, that the first, who took to their heels in the left wing under Miranda, crying out to the rest to save themselves who could, and thus caused the whole to take flight, were hired implements, were cordeliers, the worthy emissaries of Marat, the worthy agents of La croix.

Be this as it may, the expedition against Holland was irretrievably foiled; one lost battle decided the fate of Belgium; to cover the frontier, the general had nothing left but an army completely disheartened, greatly reduced, and in which the emissaries of the faction could now exert themselves with increased success. Thus was Dumouriez brought into that situation, in which the faction had long thirsted to find him. In his eyes the republic was lost: if he continued to fight for it, sooner or later he would be lost himself: one more defeat, his mortal enemies the jacobins would bring him to the scaffold. What, however, could he do? At what court could he seek an asylum? What king would receive, what king would not persecute, the

vanquisher

Vanquisher of Brunswic? There was another part to be taken, more speedy, more sure, more generous: to secure the retreat of his troops, to bring them back to the frontier, to post them in the least unfavourable situation, thence to write to the convention—and Dumouriez knows well how to write—a letter worthy of its author and of the circumstances, to disclose without reserve not certain weaknesses of this or that republican, but all the crimes of the new royalists, all the infamous manœuvres of *Pache*, all the villainous proposals of Lacroix, and, in fine, all the crimes of a wicked faction, and of the cruel foreigners, by whom that faction was hired: then, after the example of the latter Brutus, and so many other generals of antiquity—But why should he commit such a foolish act? What would have been the advantage of it? None, but the salvation of his honour! none, but the immortalizing of his glory! none, but the securing to him one of the first places in history! What he! he imitate those fools of the convention, who in their speeches are continually citing, not, as he says, the romans, but, which is somewhat different, the heroes of Rome! No: such a step could by no means suit the general: hitherto he had been a republican it is true, *because it was his interest*; but romantic he had never yet been.

Other thoughts were calculated to seduce a man of his character. It appeared to him from that time impossible, but that France must fall again under the yoke of royalty: and if foreigners were to give it a king, it could only be through seas of blood, and absolute despotism must be the consequence. According to him, therefore, it was doing the french a real service, to treat with Cobourg without, and Orleans within, for

the re-establishment of the constitution of 1789: and in this plan the general would be still a personage of great consequence. It is true he must betray his engagements in the face of all Europe, deliver up to the poniard good men cruelly deceived, and swallow the shame of associating with the most despicable of mankind, Lacroix and Marat. No consideration could restrain him. As Lacroix and some of his band were yet living, and even enjoyed great popularity, at the time when he published his memoirs; as consequently these pretended *republicans* might serve the cause of the crowned heads, and it was important not to unmash them; Dumouriez has only hinted at their secret conferences. He confesses at least the interview at Bouchain. No doubt it was some days before, that the night of the 10th of march was decreed by these three men. It was in Belguin, that every thing was settled between them. There the night of the 10th of march was fixed; there the parts were distributed to the several actors. From his camp, in the heart of which he would demand a king, the general would announce in his manifestoes, that he was going to march against *anarchy*, and to support the *sound majority* of the convention: thus he would give powerful pretexts to the jacobins, against whom he would have the air of declaring war, to attack the republican deputies, of whom he would pretend himself the defender. Thus he would marvellously second the proscribing voice of Marat, who would not fail to point out all the *girondists* to the dangers of the infatuated mob, to whom he would cry, behold the royalists! behold the traitors! behold the accomplices of Dumouriez! Nothing more would then have been necessary, but to procure one nocturnal meeting

for the national convention ; in the course of which would be set upon the republicans all the cut-throats of the cordeliers, who would not fail to call for all the decrees of accusation necessary ; and who even, in case of need, would themselves cut off *the twenty-two heads already promised to Cobourg.*

But what occasioned the failure of that dreadful plot of the 10th of march, well laid as it was ? A concurrence of the most singular accidents : and as the reader proceeds, he will be astonished in this instance also, at the great effects produced by little causes.

That I might be near the convention, I had taken a lodging in Honoré street, very little above the jacobins. About nine in the evening, my Lodoiska, who had gotten home, and was expecting me, heard a frightful tumult and horrible cries. Ever anxious for me ; who, with most of my friends, had lived for three months surrounded with dangers, constantly pursued, threatened, insulted, obliged to carry arms for my defence, and forced to keep every night from home ; my dear wife came down, and went on till she came into the galleries of the society, from which the noise issued. She heard a thousand slanders, a thousand horrid speeches uttered. She saw the lights extinguished, and sabres drawn. She came out with an enraged multitude, who went to the *cordeliers* for auxiliaries, thence to return forthwith, and attack the convention. Lodoiska just came back when I returned. Immediately I flew to Pethion's, where some of my friends were assembled. They were conversing calmly on certain decrees, that were to be passed in the course of a few

weeks. God knows how difficult I found it, to rouse them from their security. At last I prevailed on them, to refrain from appearing at the meeting already begun, and to assemble, with all the principal persons proscribed, in an hour's time, in a house where the conspirators would not expect to find us. I then repaired with speed to the meeting, where I found *Kervélegan*, deputy from Finisterre. This brave man hastened to the farther part of the suburb St. Marceau, to alarm a battalion from *Brest*, which very fortunately arrived at Paris a few days before, and had been detained. This battalion remained all night under arms, ready to march to our assistance at the first request, or the sound of the alarm bell. In the mean time I went from house to house, to acquaint *Valazé*, *Buzot*, *Barbaroux*, *Salle*, and several others. *Briffot* went to inform the ministers of what was passing; and the minister at war, the brave and unfortunate *Beurnonville*, having scaled the walls of his garden, had already joined some of his friends, with whom he formed a patrol. After a ramble of two hours, in a dark night, and in the midst as it were of my assassins, I arrived at the place of rendezvous. *Pethion* was wanting. He was in much danger, however, if he remained at his own house. I returned to seek him, and a single incident, that passed, will depict his character. As I was pressing him to come with me, he went to the window, and opened it: then, having looked at the weather, he said, "it rains; there will be nothing done." Notwithstanding all I could say, he persisted in staying at home.

It was not the rain that stopped the conspirators; but the

the two circumstances of our absence, and the information given to the battalion of Brest. When they knew, that the decree of impeachment, which they would have obtained, could not be followed up by the sudden arrest of their victims, they hesitated ; and their courage, always so mighty when nothing was to be done but assassinate, failed them at once, when they found they must fight. They were only three thousand, the men of Brest were four hundred : could they venture to risk an attack ? No : they durst not.

However, they had thought themselves at the outset so sure of their blow, that before midnight they had sent officially to declare their *insurrection* against the national representation to the municipality, which failed not to acquaint the convention with it two full hours afterwards ; that is to say, when the whole, in their calculation, should have been over. Thus the conspiracy, though it proved abortive, had a sort of publicity, at least in Paris ; and undoubtedly, to prevent a second attempt of the kind, supposing, which I believe was the fact, that we could not yet take vengeance on this, it was at least proper for us to give it the greatest notoriety. Such, I thought, was the intention of Vergniaud ; when a score of us, being assembled the next day, to determine what should be done on the occasion, he took on himself to denounce it. Had I known in what manner he intended to execute the task, assuredly I would not have left it to him. He made a good speech, but injurious to the cause. In it he thought proper to mislead the public opinion, already very strong against the two parricidal societies, to which a spirited and

frank accusation, preferred before all France at the bar of the convention, would have given a terrible blow. On the contrary, he ascribed the movement of the 10th of march to the aristocracy. It was the aristocracy, no doubt; it was royalism: but the aristocracy and royalism of the cordeliers and some jacobin leaders. This he ought to have said: this he did not say. Of course the two societies were charmed with the convenient cloak given them by Vergniaud; and when I inquired of him with astonishment the motive of such strange conduct, he told me, that he thought it highly necessary to denounce the conspiracy, without naming the real conspirators, *for fear of too much exasperating violent men, already inclined to every excess.*—Good God! such were the rules of conduct, such the mistaken cautions, that made way for the fearful success of the faction: well, had they only us, but they lost the republic!

The Valazé committee, composed, as I believe I have already said, but the reader will pardon my repetitions, writing in such haste, of the most spirited republicans, those members of the *right side*, which little resembled the right sides of the two former assemblies, was profoundly grieved at this new fault of the *girondines*, and charged me to repair it, by framing a more serious denunciation of this plot of the 10th of march. I wrote, but could not obtain leave to pronounce it. The mountain, dreading my veracity, constantly employed all the manœuvres of it's execrable tactics, threats, cries, closing the debate, and tumults in the galleries, to prevent my speaking. Latterly, therefore, I never mounted the tribune. My intended speech, however, I printed. In it will be found all the chief circumstances

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and principal authors * of the conspiracy. I have asserted in it nothing, but what is strictly true; and unhappily almost all the conjectures I hazarded on the events, with which futurity appeared to me big, have been verified. It's title is, *To the National Convention and my Constituents, on the Conspiracy of the 10th of March, and the Orleans Faction.* It was reprinted in many of the departments; and at Paris I was obliged to print six thousand copies. It would have produced an effect beyond calculation, if some insolent proconsuls, who, established in the departments, paid no respect to any thing, had not opened the packets at the post-offices, and stopped many. It is impossible to conceive the rage, that seized the conspirators, when this little tract appeared. They dared not denounce it to the assembly, being very sure, that I should not be afraid to defend it there, which would give it more publicity. Six months after, *Amar* spoke of it indirectly in the bill of impeachment against the republicans, but he took care not to mention the title. In general they were very cautious not to speak of me, except when forced to it; and above all they wished to bury in the profoundest oblivion my writings to the convention. My name, in fact, my mere name, recalls to memory all the criminal designs, of which I accused them, and which they have carried into execution. Marat is now acknowledged a *royalist*, and soon Robespierre will be

* I except Bourdon of Oise. The sequel showed, I think, that he was only misled. He must be so still; since at this very day he remains the enemy of the proscribed deputies, and of me. This will not prevent me from doing him the justice of declaring, that he does not appear to have actually belonged to the faction of Orleans.

a complete dictator. I saw this in 1792; and, which is still more meritorious perhaps, I had the courage to say it. In my last mentioned publication, respecting the night of the 10th of march, not contented with announcing their end, I also pointed out their means. I showed, that they would proceed through plunder to tyranny; that, to reign, they would pillage; to pillage, they would assassinate. All I then could say, I said; what it was impossible for me to say, I pointed out. I spared no pains to exhibit the two factions in all their native ugliness. Alas! mine was the voice of one crying in the desert; the conspirators drowned it as much as possible, and my friends heard the sound, but hearkened not to the words. Thus, more than ever persuaded of our approaching and inevitable fate, I said every day to my dear Lodoiska, "These men are "posting to the scaffold; I would quit them without "delay, were not their path that of duty and of virtue."

If any friends of liberty yet remain, I would recommend to them, to seek out that pamphlet on the 10th of march, now become very rare. Let them read it, to obtain, at least, an idea of the spirit of terror or blindness, with which a government was struck, that made not a single movement to destroy the fatal ambushes, which surrounded it, though it was informed of them. It is my last writing in the convention; it is, in some measure, my political testament; and I will not conceal, that I consider it as a valuable morsel for history.

I will only add, that to the ever fatal epoch of the 10th of may, 1793, must be referred the destruction of the liberty of the press; the complete violation of

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the secrecy of the post; the first general attacks on property; the origin of the war in Vendée, so constantly and cruelly fomented by Marat, the municipalities of Paris, Pache, Ronsin, and their accomplices; the sending of proconsuls into the departments; the first attempt to found that *committee of public safety*, which now tyrannises over France; and the creation of that revolutionary tribunal, which has deluged it with blood; odious events, execrable establishments, which yet were but the preludes and the implements of all those scourges, all those fearful wounds, that were to be inflicted on my country.—Lament them, friends of liberty, lament them, but forget not, that these crimes were not the crimes of the republic. The republic! The factions never permitted us to establish one; to disgrace it, to render it odious, to destroy it for ever, they continually aimed to combine it's name with their base cruelties. All the crimes they committed were still those of royalty.

I must not quit this article without one observation of some importance. When *force* had dragged from us the decree of a revolutionary tribunal, we felt it necessary to unite at least to choose it's pretended juries. In fact, we accomplished the nomination of honest men: but it may be questioned whether they would have accepted the office. Marat, however, did not wait for their refusal; he set up the cry of a counter-revolution, threatened to call in the people, caused the ballot to be annulled, and procured his list to be decreed. It may easily be supposed, that this consisted only of the most determined villains: most of them were the assassins of September; they changed only their theatre, not their parts,

parts, murdering on one, as on the other, *in the name of the law.* Some were taken from amongst those *defenders of the republic,* who constituted a new society of robbers, to be compared only to the *Septembrists.* In this number figured one Mr. Nicholas, a curious personage, of whom Camillus Desmoulins speaks, in one of the five numbers of his *Old Cordelier.* It appears, that this true jacobin, at first reduced to live on cow-heels, is indebted for his little fortune of 200,000 livres (upwards of 8000 pounds) which he is dissipating in the *stews,* and the right of life and death, which he exercises over all good men, to the stout bludgeon, with which he protected the native cowardice of Robespierre, when this gentleman began to think, that by means of chattering, slander, and proscription, he might in truth become king of France.

In the mean time, Dumouriez, thirsting after republican blood, expected our heads. He could not fail of being astonished, to hear the ill success of the wished for night; but, too far advanced to recede, he passed the Rubicon. His memoirs give the history of his operations, which is that of his faults. Indecision, presumption, and want of foresight, are every thing that can be found in it. In less than a fortnight all his plans proved abortive. He had arranged every thing, except the means of carrying them into execution. Great indeed in the field of battle, Dumouriez is as little in the mazes of intrigue. Unhappily for him, people cannot be always fighting; and more unlucky still, he must intrigue, when he cannot fight.

We began to fetch breath, when a native of Bourdeaux, taken prisoner at the battle of Nerwinde, and after-

afterwards exchanged, came to tell Guadet his friend, that, having formed an intimacy with one of the officers of the imperial army, he had learnt, that Cobourg's staff expected two and twenty members of the convention to loose their heads before long. Guadet related this news to me, and we laughed about it: but guess our surprize, and the reflections that followed it, when a short time after Pache came at the head of the pretended sections of Paris, to present the famous petition, which proscribed us to the number of *twenty-two*. I am persuaded, it was this irrefragable proof of the connivance between the principals of the mountain and Austria, which at length urged Guadet, naturally bold and courageous, to make that spirited declamation against Marat, which procured the famous bill of impeachment against him, and his still more famous acquittal, which ought to have opened the eyes of all France on the infamy of the revolutionary tribunal, and the faction that created it.

I have a few striking anecdotes to relate respecting that petition against the two and twenty; and let me be pardoned for giving them, since anecdotes depict men. Besides, I write not history: I throw together in haste a few memorandums for it: some hand more happy may choose amongst them—But will tyranny permit it? O heavens!

After Pache had read the petition, Boyer-Fonfrede demanded leave to speak. He delivered himself with much elegance and wit; and when he came to the following expressions, or something like them, “ For my part, I regret, that I am not in the number of those, on whom the municipality of Paris to-day calls down it's daggers,”

daggers," almost all the assembly rose with a spontaneous movement, and exclaimed, " So do we all." From all parts the members came to congratulate and embrace us, except about some fifty savage mountaineers, who, struck with consternation at an effect so opposite to their hopes, kept their seats in silence. Yet, on the 2d of june, this very assembly passed a decree of impeachment against these very same proscribed persons, on the enunciation of the same flanders: it is true, that then three thousand jacobins guarded all the passages to the hall, and had fourscore pieces of cannon pointed against it.

When Pache, after his memorable lecture, quitted the bar, to enter the hall, a deputy (Massuyer) went up to the abashed mayor, and said, " Have you not a little place for me ? It will be a hundred crowns in your way." This no doubt was the capital crime of the unfortunate Massuyer, and the sole cause of his proscription. After the 31st of may he was outlawed, and at length perished on the scaffold.

It is of importance to observe, that the first list of proscription having been of twenty-two members, the second list, brought a few weeks after to the convention, by the municipal officers and administrators of Paris, was likewise of twenty-two, though all the names in both were not the same. At the moment of passing the decree of impeachment, Marat again made some alterations of his own sovereign authority. He struck out some names, that of *Lanthenas* for instance; but he took care to replace them by others, and, mark well, in like number, so that the proscribed were still twenty-two. Finally, when, after the taking of Lyons, the trial of the

deputies came on, Pethion, Buzot, Guadet, Salle, Va-lady, Barbaroux, and I, were not in their hands. The list was consequently diminished one-third: yet it was again made up to it's complement; and the victims conducted to the scaffold, if not twenty-two, were at least twenty-one. This strange identity of number, at four different periods, gives reason to presume, that the number of twenty-two heads, uniformly kept up, was that, which the mountain had engaged to furnish, by one of the first articles in it's secret treaty with the foreign powers.

Still, not satisfied with the downfall and death of the Republicans, they persecuted them even in the grave: not contented with insulting their misfortunes, they slandered their very virtues. Had the father of anarchy, the chief of the men of blood, the grand exterminator, a Marat, the most corrupt, most vile, most impudent of the royalists in foreign pay, done this, I should have deemed it quite natural. It would have appeared to my mind equally natural, that Robespierre, envious of all merit, greedy of all power, should continue his endeavours to render odious the men, who eclipsed him with their talents; the only ones, perhaps, who could oppose insuperable obstacles to his tyrannical projects; and whose very memory, rising in judgment against him, might hurl him from that throne, which he now touches with the bloody hand of slander and hypocrisy; from that throne, on which but one crime more is wanting to place him. But that a man justly celebrated, in whom great talents resplendently shine, whom the multitude cannot suspect of any interest at present to pervert the truth, and who, though most completely imbued with
immorality,

immorality, does not appear so thoroughly depraved, as to make a common cause with the most despicable of mankind; that Dumouriez, in his memoirs published six months after the unjust condemnation of the most worthy of the republicans, should unite with their executors to decry them; may give us room for astonishment, must lead us to seek the cause.

Against these, Dumouriez employs, without the least reserve, the most easy means of dishonouring a man the most estimable, if his ruin were sought. All the evil others have done he imputes to them; all the good they have sought to do he questions. He treats as the work of the whole convention all the ridiculous or hateful decrees, which he well knows the mountain drew from it by it's vile manœuvres, or by fear; and he never applies his most degrading epithets to the members of that hideous faction, a few exterminators excepted.

However it be, enough of Dumouriez. Let us return to the convention. I had long foreseen the calamities of the 31st of may: they arrived, when I began no longer to expect them. Marseilles had just overcome the drinkers of blood: Bourdeaux had not suffered them to approach it's walls: the Jura and almost all the South, had risen against the mountain: Lyons only was wanting to this sacred coalition; Lyons took up arms, and expelled it's counter-revolutionary municipality. At this news, the mountain perceived, there were no more hopes of safety for it, but in a blow of desperation: it seized on the ropes of the alarm-bell.

On the night of the 30th of may, the storm threatened so loudly, that we felt the necessity of sleeping from

home, perhaps for the fiftieth time. A remote chamber, in which were three wretched beds, but good arms, and good accommodations for defence, received Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, Rabaud-St.-Etienne, and me. At three in the morning, the sound of the alarm-bell awakened us. At six we quitted our apartment well armed: though distant from the place where the convention assembled, we resolved to repair thither. Near the Thuilleries we passed several knots of rascals, who, having discovered whom we were, made as if they would attack us. This they certainly would have done, had they not seen our weapons. One of us, I remember, Rabaud-St.-Etienne, was so perturbed, that he would have made little resistance. During the whole way, he was continually exclaiming, *Illa suprema dies!* [this last day!]—alas! I shall never behold it more!

When we entered the hall, we found three mountaineers already there. Pointing at one of them, I said to Guadet, “do you observe what dreadful hopes, gleam from that hideous countenance?” “Certainly:” replied Guadet: “it is Clodius banishing Cicero.” The mountaineer gave us no answer, but a horrible smile.

This day, however, their expectations were baulked. They were founded chiefly on the projected disarming of the section of Butte des Moulins, which had long given them some uneasiness. This preliminary operation being accomplished, they would have accused us of having caused it to assume the white cockade, and the decree of impeachment would have been passed. A circumstance deranged the plan. The section, informed of the slanders propagated against it, and of the march of the suburb

of

of St. Anthony, had the good sense to perceive, that it was as necessary to retain it's arms as it's innocence, and that it must seek it's justification in victory. It entrenched itself in the palais-royal, loaded it's guns, pointed its cannon loaded with grapeshot, and lighted its matches. Five adjacent sections prepared to support it. The forty thousand men of the suburb of St. Anthony, when they arrived at the square in front of the palais-royal, resolved, notwithstanding all the exertions made to urge them to battle, that it would be proper to send a deputation, to verify the fact. The deputies, admitted into the heart of the brave battalion of Butte des Moulins, found the three-coloured cockade in every hat, and the cry of the republic in every mouth. They united, embraced, danced, and for that evening the plot of the jacobins failed.

The next day, as I entered the assembly, I was told, that the municipality had just arrested the wife of citizen Roland. Hence perceiving the progress of guilt had only been checked, I engaged the principal persons proscribed to unite, and we went to dine together for the last time. Our dinner occupied our attention much less than the very critical situation in which we found ourselves, and we were considering what steps remained for us to take, when the alarm-bell began again to resound from every quarter. A moment after, some one came to give Brissot the false information, that seals were about to be put on our respective habitations. Trembling for every thing most dear to me, for my Lodoiska, whom perhaps they were going to arrest, I gave my opinion in few words, but with warmth, and supported it by forcible motives. From that period

we could do nothing more at the convention, where the mountain and the galleries would not suffer us to say a word, but animate the hopes of the conspirators, who would be delighted at the prospect of seizing all their prey at one stroke. We could do nothing more at Paris, swayed by fear of the conspirators, who were masters of the armed force, and the constituted authorities. *Nothing but the insurrection of the departments could save France.* It was our business therefore to seek some secure asylum for that evening, and set off on the next and subsequent days, one by one, in the best manner we could; to re-assemble at Bourdeaux, or in Calvados if the insurgents, already appearing there, should be any way formidable. But above all we must take care *not to remain as hostages in the hands of the mountain, and therefore we must not return to the convention.*

Briffot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Mainveille, Valazé, all you honourable victims, whom posterity will revenge, why did you not hearken to my words? It was *Lefage* and I, who snatched you from the fury of your enemies on the 10th of march. Possibly, our exertions in the cause of liberty might not have been more prosperous, had we been assisted by you: possibly, together we might not have been more successful in exciting an ardent love of liberty, and the lively detestation due to oppressors; but, at least, I should not have had this day to lament your untimely fall.

Eager to fly to the assistance of Lodoiska in danger, I quitted them, without knowing what resolution they would form. I could not prevail on my wife to leave the house, till I assured her, that I would enter it no

more. She hastened to seek the mother of Barbaroux, with whom she took refuge at a relation's. There they heard throughout the whole night the sound of the alarm-bell, drums beating, and the cries of rage demanding our heads. The poor mother of my worthy friend, trembling, desperate, uttered faint groanings, and recovered from one long swoon, but to fall into another. "We must bring up for you," cried she, "men all perfect, that you may cut their throats!" My wife, with dry eyes, and bursting heart, fearing that I might not have reached my intended asylum, awaited death. In the course of a few hours many of her hairs turned white. Great God, what a situation! yet this, my dear Lodoiska, was the beginning of the trials, to which thou wert condemned by my cruel fate, and the generous affection that induced thee to share it.

I was at the house of a friend, in whom I had every reason to confide. Ten years before he had rendered me important services, perhaps in acknowledgment of the assistance he had received from my father in his youth. My younger days had known no pleasures, of which his son, nearly of my own age, had not been the partaker or the confidant. His wife professed to love me as she loved her own child, and gave me no other name. A niece and three nephews, for whom I had a great regard, lived with them. These I had seen at their births: they had grown up under my eye, in the house of their father, whom I had many reasons to esteem, and of whom we were too soon deprived. For many years, in the house of their uncle, they had repaid my friendship for them, with tokens of equal

friendship.

friendship. Of late it had been in my power to be serviceable to almost all of them. For them, and for them alone, deviating from a rigid and perhaps mistaken principle, that of not employing my interest for any friend, for any relation, for any person connected with me, unless to repair an injury; considering besides, that this honest family, ruined by the revolution, possessed more talents than were requisite for the offices to which I recommended them; I had procured places sufficiently advantageous, if not highly lucrative, both for the father and the son. The youngest of the nephews, may he always continue to love me as much as I regard him still, I had placed in a school, where he would receive an education suitable to the great talents he announced. Finally, my Lodoiska and I cherished the idea, that, whenever a proper suitor offered, we would give half our moderate fortune to settle the niece. Let me be forgiven these details, which must seem minute, but they will soon appear to have been proper.

A fortnight I passed in this house, and then three weeks with a good young man, whom I shall have occasion to mention again.

The 2d of June, however, had been fatal to most of my friends. History, no doubt, will remark, that the tumult of that day had taken place for the delivery of Hébert, whom the committee of twenty-one had convicted of endeavouring to dissolve the convention, and who is now proved to have been an agent of the foreign powers; and of a sort of madman named *Varlet*, who has since been guillotined as a thief. History will remark, that three thousand banditti, destined to go

against Vendée, were a long time quartered within four miles of us, and brought back at the critical day, to besiege us in our hall. History will remark, that the *revolutionary committee* of the *commune* was almost wholly composed of strangers, *Gusman* the spaniard, *Pache* the swiss, *Dufourny* the italian, and *Marat* himself was of Neufchâtel. History will remark, that the conspirators having been careful to place bands, of which they were sure, close around the hall, so that the battalions of honest citizens could not approach it; and the insidious motion for going to the people having been decreed; *Hérault-Sechelle*, president of the assembly, and consequently marching at it's head, whose part had previously been dictated to him, pretended to lead the representatives of the people towards the citizens; but, stopped by a row of troops, and by *Henriot*, whom the conspirators had just nominated to the command; by *Henriot*, who informed the president, that he should not pass, and, with his hat on his head, cried, "cannoneers, to your guns," he returned, and contented himself with parading the representatives in the garden of the *Thuilleries*, every where overlooked by the municipal troops. History will remark, that *Hérault-Sechelle* is now acknowledged by all to have been an agent of the combined powers. History will remark, that the decree for arresting the twenty-two was moved by *Couthon*. History will remark, that, on the 2d of june, while the alarm-bell was still ringing, when the convention, being besieged, no longer existed in fact, and passed on compulsion the decrees for the committee of twelve and the arrest of the twenty-two, *Marat* said to the people, *that they wanted*

wanted a chief: and I doubt not but the committee of public safety has at this day a hundred thousand irrefragable proofs, that Chaumette was one of the principal foreign agents with Marat, as *Châlier* was at Lyons, and *Savon* at Marseilles. To publish this, however, would throw too much obloquy on the Robespierres, Barrerres, and other tyrants, who would not have ascended the heights on which they stand without those stepping-blocks: besides, these three villains are dead, and can do nothing against the septemvirate of public safety; whereas Hébert and Chaumette, having life and audacity, to reign it was necessary to guillotine them, and to guillotine them it was necessary to say what they were. Above all, history, if it can be written by the hand of freedom will remark, when it cites the libel entitled The Trial of Brissot and his Accomplices, the swarm of ridiculous and contradictory accusations it includes, and the improbability of the silly answers it puts into the mouths of my unfortunate friends, while it says not one word of the excellent speech of Vergniaud, so formidable to the faction, that it blushed not to prohibit it's being printed and published. History will remark, that their best justification will be found in that very libel; since it ascertains, that of the seven witnesses examined against them four were Chaumette, Hébert, Chabot, and Fabre-d'Eglantine, now known to have been agents of the combined powers; and two others were Pache, and Léonard-Bourdon, who will likewise be unmasked, as soon as the interest of the committee of public safety demands it.

But history must be told, that, on the 20th of may, another conspiracy against the republicans in the con-

vention was to have been carried into execution. Letters between them and Cobourg had been forged. On the night of the 20th of May, each of the twenty-two was to have been arrested at his own door, and conveyed to a solitary house in the suburb of Montmartre, where every thing was prepared for the intended crime. There each victim, coming into a back room, would find Jacobins ready to *Septemberize* him, and they would have been all buried in a hole dug in the garden belonging to the house. The next day it would have been given out, that they had emigrated, and their forged correspondence with Cobourg would have been published. This scheme was debated at the house of Pache, mayor of Paris. The committee of twenty-one had proofs of all these abominable designs: they were attested by more than fifty depositions written and signed. Some of these papers were in the hands of Bergoing, one of the members of that committee of twenty-one, who afterwards delivered them to the administrators of Calvados, by whom, no doubt, at the time of the pacification, they were given to the mountain. A greater number of them were in the possession of Rabaud-St-Etienne: whether they have been preserved I know not.

The indignant departments, however, talked of vengeance. Buzot, who did not suffer himself to be taken, and Barbaroux, who escaped from his guards, were at Caen with Gorfas, become the chief of the insurrection in the west. My beloved wife had been several times to see Valazé, under arrest in his own house, who had a thousand opportunities to escape, of which he would not avail himself, saying, with Gensonné, it was for the service of the republic, that the greater number of the

deputies

deputies should depart, to rouse the minds of the people ; but it was fit, that some should remain, as guarantees of the innocence of those who departed. He had said to Lodoiska, that my presence was necessary in Calvados. She saw me in a safe asylum, and was aware of the dangers, to which I should be exposed, as soon as I quitted it : but in her generous mind, patriotism was commonly stronger than love. To assist me in quitting my retreat, she waited only for passports, which were to be sent to Valazé for me from Caen. At length they came. On the 24th of june my wife and I left Paris. At Meulan we were obliged to change our carriage. Our new driver was a violent maratist, who uttered a thousand execrations against those *rascally deputies*, who went into the departments, to set every thing in a flame. One of them, he added, Buzot, had at first imposed on the inhabitants of Evreux ; but these, at length undeceived, had just arrested him, and were going to convey him back to Paris. Guess at my emotion ! That of Lodoiska was not more feeble. We kept up the conversation, however, with gaiety, and it terminated only with the day. The next morning early we entered Evreux, where we detected the lies told us the preceding evening. This city was still in full insurrection. Different obstacles delayed us till the evening. As we were going to set off, I saw appear a man, whom I at first took for a spectre. It was Guadet, in the disguise of a journeyman upholsterer ; he had travelled forty-four miles on foot, in the course of the day, chiefly by cross roads. The next day he urged to me the impropriety of taking our wives with us, in the midst of dangers, and in that laborious and

hazardous life, which we must lead. I am angry with myself, for listening to him too readily. I cannot recollect without the most painful emotions, the tears my wife shed at our separation. Had she accompanied me, perhaps we should have been now in America. Guadet and I arrived at Caen the 26th. The eight departments, namely, five of what was Brittany, and three of Normandy, had formed a coalition. They just sent their commissioners to Caen, and their armed force was on the point of arriving. Wimpfen, general of all the troops, had hitherto confined his exploits to journeys and words. Under the most frivolous pretexts, he put off every kind of arrangement. I saw him soon, and I was easily convinced, that he was a thorough royalist, for he did not take the pains to dissemble. I asked Barbaroux and Buzot, what support to our cause they could expect from such a man. The latter answered me, that Wimpfen was a royalist, it was true, but a man of honour, and incapable of breaking his engagements. The former, I found, was completely seduced by the engaging manners of Wimpfen. To Guadet and Pethion, who had just arrived, my apprehensions were inconceivable. They were astonished at my extreme readiness to suspect every one, who was not a republican like myself. I then perceived, that every thing would go on at Caen, as it had done at Paris. Wimpfen was beloved by the *normans*, he had a considerable party in the administration of Calvados, and he had gained the confidence of the *bretons*. To supplant him, required the combined exertions of us all; and I found myself alone. In this part of the republic, therefore, all our measures must prove abortive. Besides, many of the *normans*,

mans, who displayed the most favourable dispositions towards us, because, on the faith of the papers, they had believed us royalists, were totally changed, as soon as, from our discourse and actions, they came to know us better. My last hopes, therefore, centered in the south. Had my wife been at Caen, we would have repaired to Honfleur, and thrown ourselves on board some vessel returning to Bourdeaux. There, as we should soon have found matters went no better than in other places, we would have embarked in the first american vessel, and should have been now in peace at Philadelphia.

Thus three weeks passed away, during which Wimpfen did nothing but lead to Evreux the two thousand men, that arrived from different departments. Public report, however, so magnified this little troop, that at Paris it was said to-be thirty thousand strong. Already good citizens feared not to speak out, and to prepare to overturn their hideous municipality. Already several sections had sent commissioners to Evreux, who carried back to Paris divers pamphlets, calculated to make known our real sentiments, and particularly a piece, which they called, I know not why, Wimpfen's manifesto, and which was a declaration of the commissioners of the united departments, drawn up by me with much care. This declaration announced peace, fraternity, and succour to the parisians; but war to the death, and exemplary chastisement, to some of the mountain, to the municipality, and to the cordeliers: and this just distinction produced the best effect in Paris. The commissioners too had seen, and pointedly declared, that the forces of the departments were

basely slandered, when they were charged with wearing the white cockade, and desiring monarchy. Every thing, in short, was so prepared, that if, at that moment, our arms had obtained a first success, the revolution would have taken place at Paris, without the troops of the departments having occasion to enter it: but it was not the intention of Wimpfen, that we should succeed.

The mountain, greatly disturbed, had at length collected in Paris eighteen hundred foot, the good wishes of at least half of which were for us, and seven or eight hundred vagabonds, as cowardly as thieves. All these had just thrown themselves into Vernon. It was not till then Wimpfen talked of attacking this city: and all at once one Mr. de Puysay, who had never been heard of before, was introduced to us by the general as a true republican and able soldier. Him Wimpfen directed to attack Vernon: and undoubtedly he well followed his private instructions.

To surprise the enemy, he marched out in broad day, with drums beating. Having exposed his soldiers all day to a fervent sun, he made them pass the night in the open air, without a single tent, though few of them had ever before slept even in a camp. The next day he wasted in the attack of a little fort, which he had the honour to carry. Then, the enemy being thus well and duly informed in every way, to give it still more advantage, he halted at the entrance of a wood, not two miles from Vernon; laid up the cannon, as it were, one behind another, along a wall; left all the little army in the greatest disorder; did not even appoint it sentinels; and went to sleep in a cottage a mile distant.

distant. In an hour's time, a few hundred men suddenly appeared, and fired three rounds with their cannons on our men, completely surprised; but according to all appearance the guns were only loaded with powder, for all this was evidently a concerted matter of form. Be it as it may, our soldiers, who knew not with whom they had to encounter, who could scarcely find their arms, and who called in vain for their leader, were soon put to the rout. So speedy was the flight, that but for the bravest of the troops of Isle and Vilaine, who stood their ground a few moments, not a single cannon would have been brought off. However, not one man received so much as a scratch; and the enemy did not advance thirty yards, to pursue this easy victory. This prevented not Mr. de Puysay, whom the administration of *Eure* intreated not to abandon it, from declaring that Evreux was not tenable; and in fact next day he retreated upwards of thirty miles, thus giving up a whole department without a single shot.

At the arrival of the courier, who brought us this sad news, Wimpfen appeared not in the least surprised.— Nay more, he soon assured us, that it was no misfortune; and talked of fortifying Caen, of declaring that city in a state of siege, of setting on foot an army of some force, and of creating a paper money to be current in the seven departments remaining in union. These proposals gave room for many reflections. Salle and I, having long discoursed on the subject, remained convinced, that the general, far from intending to march to Paris, meant to shut us up with him in a city where his party was strongest, there to establish his communication with England, to entangle us with that country if possible;

and

and lastly to avail himself of us, according to circumstances, either to make his peace with the mountain, if that should subdue the coalition of the south, or to make his peace with the republicans of the south, if they should get the better of the mountain. Our colleagues, to whom we imparted our conjectures, deemed us visionaries; and they were not to be convinced by any thing less, than what soon afterwards followed.

The general demanded an interview, which he professed to be of the utmost importance, with all of us deputies. He began with representing to us our situation as extremely critical, if we were not capable of taking vigorous measures. He was going to Lisieux to organize his troops, and pitch his camp, in such a manner as to be capable of a good defence for the present: but the future required something more: and then he returned to his schemes respecting Caen, the establishment of a paper currency, &c. Thinking it proper to back his arguments by terror, though he might have known, that fear could have little effect on men accustomed daily to brave the rage of the mountain and its assassins; an officer, no doubt properly tutored, entered suddenly, with a look of affright, to inform the general, that there was a tumult, that the people had stopped the convoys for the army, and that there were even some very violent movements against the deputies. Wimpfen pretended to be angry at the precipitancy, with which such alarming news was announced: "go, go," said he to the officer, "it is nothing; talk a little reason to the people, quiet them, and give them a little money if necessary." When this man had left us, the general thought he might venture on his grand proposal.

" Re-

"Reflect well on all I have said to you," resumed he : "I know, that little measures will not accomplish great ends. But, hear me, I speak frankly, there is only one step I can see capable of procuring us speedily and surely men, arms, ammunition, money, and every necessary assistance : that is, *to negotiate with England, for which the means are in my power, but I must have your authority and your engagement.*"

It may be supposed, that I well retained in mind the expressions printed in italics ; and for the sense, at least, of those that precede, I can answer.

I know not whether the reader can fancy to himself the effect, these words produced on my too unsuspecting friends. All, seized with indignation, without having consulted one another for a moment, rose together. The conference was instantly broken off, though the general left nothing unattempted, to renew it.

Every one, I imagine, will perceive the infamous snare laid for us by this worthy ally of the mountain. Had fear, or the hope of vengeance, impelled us into it, there would have been an end of the republic, and of our honour. The mountain would have had convincing proofs against us. It would have been the republican : we should have been the royalists. All the republicans, prosecuted as royalists, would have been arrested, imprisoned, guillotined. Our conspiracy, it would have said, spread to the south. To us, not to it, would have been imputed the delivery of Toulon into the hands of the english. I know, that they have not forgotten to say this, since their fatal triumph ; but they have found no credit with any honest or enlightened

ened man. Thus they have been reduced to the equally false and ridiculous charge of federalism.

Wimpfen, a little disconcerted, left us, without expressing any resentment. He only hinted, whilst repeating his intention of departing for Lisieux, that we should do wisely to remain at Caen, to check some malicious persons there, who laboured to render us unpopular.

The next day Barbaroux and I repaired to Lisieux. The general was a little surprised to see us, but gave us not the less welcome reception. We learnt, what he did not tell us, that he had just held a secret conference with one of those envoys of the chiefs of the mountain, who for three weeks had gone about scattering assignats by handfuls at Evreux and every other place on their way; and who soon, apparently secure of being powerfully protected, came to pursue the same trade of corruption in the city of Caen, under our very noses. At Lisieux we found many armed persons, but no soldiers: no arrangement, no discipline, and a rage for making motions. Some secret hand had in one day dissolved even the battalions of *bretons*, which till that time had been well kept up. The general took great care to point out to us all this disorder, and to infer from it, that he could not make a stand there, but must lead back all the troops to Caen, make that city the central point of resistance, &c. However, he did not think fit to repeat to us his english proposals.

The retreat indeed took place the next day. All my friends then saw, that it was over with us in the west. In vain did the general, returned to Caen, where he had

had always wished to fix himself, show dispositions for a serious defense : in vain did he compose a staff, arrange his troops, busy himself in selecting a spot for a camp, and erect batteries of eighteen pounders : not one of these steps could longer deceive my colleagues.

It appears proved, that the preceding evening Wimpfen had sent private information to the mountain, by one of the envoys of the committee of public safety. Let me not be misunderstood when I say the mountain : I mean not the whole of it, or even all it's chiefs ; but the principal *cordeliers* of the mountain, such as Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine, and the rest, who were equally desirous of over-reaching the republicans Petion, Gaudet, and their fellows, and the dictator Robespierre. It was to these, that Wimpfen had given information of the bad success of his overtures respecting the english, and the inutility of renewing them : and they then determined to confine themselves to the dissolution of the nucleus of our armed force ; but without renouncing the design of branding us with the imputation of royalism, which was necessary to destroy us ; and it was at that period only, no doubt, they resolved to deliver Toulon, at least in appearance, to the english. What I now say may at first surprise any one totally unacquainted with the state of affairs ; but, in due time, I shall be more explicit concerning the tragic farce of Toulon.

Before I speak of the sad catastrophe of our affairs at Caen, I must give an account of some interesting events, which I left in arrear, not to interrupt the series of greater things.

Wimpfen had just set off for Lisieux, when there arrived at Caen, to offer his services to us, a bad general,

ral, but a good partisan, a sort of commander of hussars, excellent for a vigorous coup-de-main, and a man to lead the battalions with drums beating and colours flying even to the Carrouzel. It was *Beyffer*. We recommended him to Wimpfen, who civilly declined his service. Beyffer immediately attempted to seduce all our cavalry; and then, imagining he had thus made his peace with the mountain, he hastened to Paris, to boast of this manœuvre; his sincerity in which was no doubt suspected, for he was a little time after guillotined. What gave me confidence in him, however, was his being accompanied by one of my worthy friends, a pure ancient jacobin, a republican to the core, *Bois-Guyon*, his adjutant general, a young man of the greatest promise, who afterwards unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy, and had his head cut off at Paris, at the same time as *Girey-Dupré*, who well deserved such a companion in his glorious death.

A little time before this, a young woman, stout, well made, with an open air, and modest behaviour, came to the town house [*à l'intendance*] where we were all lodged, to speak to *Barbaroux*. In her face, which was at once that of a fine and pretty woman, and in her whole carriage, there was a mixture of gentleness and dignity, which indicated her heavenly mind. She always came attended by a servant, and waited for *Barbaroux* in a hall, through which some one or other of us was continually passing. Since that woman has attracted the notice of the whole universe, we have mutually recollect^{ed} all the circumstances of her visits; of which, it is now clear, a favour solicited for one of her relations was only a pretext. Her true motive was no doubt to become acquainted with some

of

of the founders of that republic, for which she was going to devote herself: perhaps, too, she was not unwilling, that some day her features should be present to their memory. Never will they be effaced from mine. O Charlotte Corday! in vain have all the *cordelier* painters apparently conspired together, to give a disfigured copy of thy charms: thou wilt ever be before our eyes, gentle yet noble, modest and beautiful, as thou always appearedst to us: thy mien will have that dignified firmness, and thy look that fire tempered by modesty, that fire with which it sparkled the eve of the day, on which thou departedst to level with the dust a man, whose horrible deformity it will be equally impossible for them to make us forget, whatever be their efforts to represent it less hideous.

I declare, I affirm, that she never mentioned a word of her design to any one of us. And if such actors took counsel, and she had consulted us, should we have directed her dagger to Marat? Did we not know, that he was so afflicted with a severe disease, as to have scarcely two days to live? — Let us humble ourselves before the decrees of Providence; of that Providence, which saw fit, that Robespierre and his accomplices should live long enough to destroy one another, long enough for it to be completely proved to the french nation, the eyes of which will ultimately be opened by this solemn revelation, that they were traitorous royalists, and he the most ambitious of tyrants.

In the turmoil of the great events then passing, few people sufficiently attended to the sublimeness apparent in the dignified brevity of the answers, that astonishing woman gave the vile knaves, by whom she was tried;

and to the grandeur of the thoughts and expressions of that immortal epistle, which she addressed to Barbaroux, a few hours before her death, and which, from a profound sentiment of republican delicacy, that such a mind alone could feel, she dated from *the apartment of Brissot*. Every thing beautiful in the french revolution will pass away, or that epistle will be handed down to future ages. O my dear Barbaroux, in thy fate, so deserving of envy altogether, never have I really envied any thing, but the happiness of having thy name prefixed to that epistle. Mine, however, at least she pronounced on her examination. I have received, therefore, a recompence for all my labours, an indemnification for my sacrifices, my troubles, the corroding anxiety I suffer in thy absence, my Lodoiska, and the last tortures reserved for me, if I learn, that our ferocious prosecutors, skilled to wound me in the tenderest part, have accomplished thy assassination. Yes, happen what may, I have at least my recompence: Charlotte Corday has named me, I am sure I shall not wholly perish.—Charlotte Corday, thou future idol of republicans, in that elysium, where thou reposest with a Vergniaux, a Sydney, a Brutus, listen to my last prayers: intreat of the Eternal, to protect my wife, to save her, to restore her to me: intreat him to grant us, in honourable poverty, some free corner of the globe, where we may lay our heads; some honest trade, by which I may support Lodoiska; some complete obscurity, to hide us from our enemies; some few years of love and happiness. And if my prayers be not heard, if my Lodoiska must perish on a scaffold, at least may I quickly hear the news, and I will fly to

the place where thou reignest, to join my wife, and converse with thee.

I have taken a retrospective view of the last paragraph, and am aware, after having read it, that many will call me a fanatic. A fanatic let me be : great things were never achieved by men of cold hearts. That young man too was a fanatic, whose action history will record. How I regret, that I have forgotten his name !—The beautiful Corday was just led to prison ; a young man ran up, intreating to be accepted as a prisoner in her place, and to undergo the punishment prepared for her. I need not add, that the cordeliers granted but a part of his petition ; they suffered him not long to survive her, for whom he wished to die.*

When the *bretons*, who constituted, to speak accurately, the whole strength of our army, learnt, that their primary assemblies had accepted the constitution, they were astonished ; and the motion makers amongst them, no doubt, well paid, proved very acutely, that to combat against the mountain for the future would be factious ; in general, when victory is not certain, or at least does not appear easy, most men had rather go home about their business, than stay to fight. Our *bretons*, however, naturally brave, still hesitated ; but they were stuck to so closely, that they were carried

* Another, named Adam Lux, deputy extraordinary for Mentz, penetrated with admiration, hastily composed a little oration on the action of Corday, and carried his boldness so far as to print it, with a proposal to erect a statue to the heroine, inscribed, **GREATER THAN BRUTUS**. He was immediately thrown into the Abbey. On entering it, he cried with a transport of joy, “ I am going to die, then, for Charlotte Corday ! ” His head was cut off a few days after.

with the stream ; besides, the administrators of Calvados, who were nevertheless guillotined afterwards, ventured to hint to them, that having accepted the constitution, they could not suffer them any longer in the city of Caen. The breton federates, thus cowardly abandoned, departed to their own homes.

Wimpfen, it may be presumed, had a passport from the mountain, and an errand prepared for England. I know not what became of Mr. de Puysay*, who so complaisantly suffered himself to be beaten at Vernon. Mrs de Puysay retired to Bourdeaux, where she was denounced by a subaltern officer, not initiated in the mysteries. She was arrested, and sent to Paris ; but nothing more was heard of her ; and though she is a very pretty woman, many will think with me, that her beauty was not the true cause of the clemency shown her by the banditti.

But what became of the unfortunate remains of the chief founders of the republic, the proscribed deputies ? Their cruel adventurers shall form the subject of the last part of these memoirs.

AFTER having long studied mankind in the tumult of a great city, in the midst of their most effeminate habits, the conveniences of luxury, and the indulgences of gallantry, which they termed love : after having perceived, in these sybarites lost in softness, a degenerate people, seeming to have just strength enough to bear

* The newspapers inform us, that one Mr. de Puysay is to have the command of an army of emigrants and insurgents in Brittany, in our pay. T.

the enormous weight of their yoke without absolute despair: I had ventured to assert, that the oppressed would never have courage to attempt to shake off their yoke, or the oppressors to resist an insurrection, if it were not impossible for it to take place. I was but in part mistaken; a great change in the government of France announced itself; private interest roused strong passions; but their first conflict happily was more noisy than destructive.

Events afterwards assumed a more serious character: bold factions showed themselves. Betwixt the court, which intrigued for the restoration of all the old abuses, and the party of Orleans, which appeared to combat them, only to revive them for it's own advantage, some men conspiring in the cause of virtue made their way. After their generous exertions, a convention assembled, charged with *constituting* a republic, which unhappily it could do no more than *decree*. At first it was but an empty name: soon it was a fatal one; for it rendered the *thing itself* abortive. However, dragged almost in despite of myself upon the grand theatre, which I imagined that of the noblest passions, what did I at the first glance perceive? From the midst of the mountain to it's very summit presumptuous ignorance pretending to all the advantages of celebrity, greedy covetousness grasping at wealth, vile debauchery thirsting for lengthened indulgences, atrocious vengeance preparing for assassination, base envy despairing of the influence of talents, and insatiate ambition burning with the desire of power at the expense of every crime. And when villains like these began to acquire the ascendancy; when the mob, mounting on heaps of spoil and the ruins

of property, obedient to their voice, bathed in seas of innocent blood; when plunder systematically conducted by *magistrates*, atheism reduced to principle, and two hundred thousand scaffolds ordained by the law, disfigured my country; I was compelled to acknowledge, that, of all kinds of slavery, that induced by anarchy is the most intolerable. When the ignorant and misguided multitude reigns, crimes are as numerous as masters. One betakes himself to robbery, another delights in murder; one seeks pleasure in harassing, imprisoning, tormenting his enemy; another chooses rather to *require* his wife; a third, disdaining to mince his words, likes better to ravish his daughter, too happy if the villain do not massacre her after. You would say, that every one exerts himself to invent some new crimes, over which nature has not yet groaned: as soon as one is found, it is deified; and other villains labour with eagerness to make some new discovery, that shall have equal success. Thus in my dishonoured country many thousands of banditti make profession of crime; and amongst crimes prefer, select, and cry up, what are most shameful, most disgusting, most horribly new. Thus after the affair of Vendée a representative forgot himself so far as to style a hangman *the avenger of the people*, and to call by the name of *civic virtue* that ferociousness, which led him to engage, in a full *assembly of the people*, to cut off, every day perhaps, twenty frenchmen's heads, and to keep his engagement. Thus at *Commune-affranchie*, (what execrable mockery in such a change of name!) *Collot-d'Herbois*, also a representative of the people, *Ronsin*, the commander of an army, and some other *patriots*,

deliberated coolly, for hours, in what way to assassinate with most solemn cruelty eight or ten thousand lyonneese. Thus at the noise of the cannister-shot, that tore them to pieces, and the repeated blows of the sabre, with which those who survived this were dispatched, a numerous people made the air ring with applause. Thus the *guillotine* becomes the national altar, to which brother will citizenly drive brother; or the father his son. Thus an unhappy wife, guilty of having accompanied her husband to the place of punishment with groans, is condemned, to the great satisfaction of the multitude, to pass several hours under the fatal instrument, which sheds on her drop by drop the fresh spilt blood of her beloved partner, whose corpse is close by her—there—on the scaffold! —— Thus, at once, as a torrent restrained by no dikes, an immeasurable mass of crimes unknown to the fiercest nations, spreads over a vast empire, and threatens to deluge the globe. O why could nothing less than this experience convince me of the fatal truth, that, without any distinction of poverty or opulence, greatness or obscurity, I will say even, in general, of perfect ignorance or empty knowledge, and with the single exception of *virtue*, which belongs but to a few privileged philosophers, men must be slaves; since men are either wicked themselves, or crouch before them who are so!

While we had any hope of bringing down that impious sect, we traversed the departments, less to seek an asylum for ourselves, than to raise up enemies against it. Vain attempt! the disgusting machiavelianism of Hebert was to carry all before it. Already fear, under the name of prudence, began to divide the band of

departments, to break up salutary measures, and endanger liberty in her last retreat. At Marseilles, at Bourdeaux, in almost all the principal cities, the tardy, indifferent, timid householder, could not resolve to quit his home for a moment: to mercenaries he entrusted his cause and his arms; as if it were difficult to foresee, that the man hired by him might soon be hired against him. On the other hand the mountain, ardent, daring, full-fledged in guilt, drew the sword against it's country. For the sake of broaching a few casks, surprizing a few women, and breaking open a few strong boxes, worthless soldiers engaged in the service of the mountain; to the cry of long live the republic, they cut the throats of republicans; and to make their country free, they ran to subjugate it. Spewed out from the *capital*, as from a modern Rome, the vilest imps of royalism in disguise, the most infamous agents of corruption, brought fetters to the *conquered provinces*, already prepared to prostrate themselves before their bloody proconsulate. Cities, once the proudest, began to crouch before two or three jacobins. Lost was the republic! and we, it's unhappy founders, were doomed to undergo the most dreadful fate, that could attend a few proscribed persons well known, whom every villain pursued, and every coward abandoned. They, whose property we had constantly protected in the midst of dangers, offered us not, in our distress, the least portion of that fortune, the whole of which they the next day would deliver up on their knees to the first robber, who would seize it. They, whose lives we had defended for ten months, at the hazard of our own, would refuse to open their doofs to us, rather than expose their's

their's a moment in our behalf. Amidst the horrors of gloomy nights and stormy skies, exhausted with fatigue, having wandered all day in the woods without respite, famished with hunger, raging with thirst, nothing was left us to supply our continually renewing wants, or defend us from assassins, but our courage, our innocence, a remnant of hope, and the miracles of an evidently protecting Providence. We shall see friends, savage through cowardice, refuse to know their friend. For me was reserved this trial, the most painful of all I have undergone ! Wretched man ! friends of twenty years proof will drive thee from their door ; will drive thee back even to the feet of the scaffold. I had seen men in a body in their public life, and had detested them : I had reason to know them too well individually in their private life, and hatred was succeeded by contempt. Since, even in a country which I thought about to be regenerated, the good are so pusillanimous and the wicked so violent, it is clear, that every aggregate of men, pompously called *people* by fools like me, is in reality but a feeble herd, happy to crouch to a master*. Whether it be a Robespierre or a Maffaniello, a Marat or a Nero, a Caligula or a Châlier, a Hébert or a Pitt, a Cartouch even or an Alexander, a Desrues or an Orleans, what matters it ? Every villain, if he be ambitious, and circumstances push him on, may come to be what is called a great man : only sometimes the most able is precipitated from the height into

* Let my situation be remembered, and my excess of grief may be an excuse for such reflections,

the abyss below, whilst to reign is to be most miserable*.

In the midst of such depravity, however, it is not a little consoling, to have to declare, that, even in France, still exist some beings worthy of liberty. We have found them particularly in that sex, which is reputed trifling and timid. The most kind attentions, the most courageous assistance, that generous compassion cannot refuse to unmerited misfortune, have been lavished on us by women. O madam — ! I cannot name you at present, without being your ruin; but, virtue remains not unrewarded; and if it be for ever impossible for me to hold you up to the gratitude of republicans, doubt not but he, who formed your heavenly mind after his own image, your God and mine, a God of goodness and beneficence, will remember the hazardous offices you performed for us, and that, surrounded with our executioners, you stole from them their victims†.

The

* Cromwell, whom Robespierre resembled so strongly, except in talents; who, naturally cruel and irreligious, affected, with double hypocrisy, to be inclined to clemency and zealous in the cause of God; was no sooner on the throne, than he fancied himself continually surrounded with assassins. He trusted not to his own guards. By day he carried pistols in his pocket, and at night he placed them under his pillow. He scarcely dared to eat: to sleep he was a stranger. Every night he changed his apartment and his bed. Who would not prefer death to a crown at such a price? Many cowardly villains, no doubt: but could we deem them fortunate in obtaining it? Is it not more than probable, that even for them it would be better to die?

+ Alas! this generous woman was the sister-in-law of Guadet, the wife of citizen Bouquet,---She has died on the scaffold; assassinated

The administrators of Calvados had just given the other administrations the signal of a shameful defection; they had made their peace with the mountain secretly, without giving us any notice of it. On the third day they informed us of it; and thus they did it: they sent to be posted up at the very door of the *intendance*, where they had lodged us, the mountaineer placard, which contained our decree of *outlawry*. The bretons, who were to set off the next day, indignant at this insolent perfidy, offered us their weapons: we accepted them, not to revenge ourselves, but to provide for own safety. When we had told their deputies, that we purposed to seek a retreat with them, and protect liberty in their departments, they gave a shout of joy.

The next day was in fact that of our departure. We separated into three companies, each of which joined one of the three battalions. We marched as common soldiers; and they, who had received us, appeared proud to have for *comrades* that score of representatives, for whom almost all France had just risen; for the combined departments were no fewer than sixty-nine. Our situation had at first something agreeable and novel. For my part, I found it very pleasing, to make my day's journey on foot with those brave fellows, and on the road to drink with them my glass of cider, and eat my morsel of ammunition bread with a bit of butter; and in the evening to go modestly with my billet to take a lodging with some private individual, who, supposing me a

nated at the same time with her husband, and her brother-in-law, and the father of Guadet. She is dead! and young Julian, her murderer, still lives! God of Justice! where art thou?

volunteer,

volunteer, was under no restraint with me, and thus relieved me from all ceremony. This mode of conduct delighted our bretons. It is true, the departments of Ille and Vilaine, Mayenne, and particularly Finisterre, had not fallen into the great fault of the southern ones, that of arming only mercenaries. Most of these volunteers were young men well educated, well informed of the cause they were to support, and not easy to be bought. Yet whatever precautions were taken, busy fellows, men of weak or ardent minds, and some anarchists in disguise, could not be prevented from sliding into the companies; and these, though few in number, were often able, by the help of their vile machinations and detestable intrigues, to sway the rest. We had perceived this already at Lisieux; and we had soon occasion to experience it still more to our sorrow.

After several marches we had arrived at *Vires*. There I learnt, that the *mountain*, emboldened by our misfortunes, had arrested great numbers at Paris. I trembled for my wife. Being somewhat fatigued, I had retired to rest at six o'clock: it was midnight, and I had not yet been able to close my eyes, when I was told, that a lady inquired for me. It was herself! imagine my transport!

Worthy friend! Scarcely had the barkers of the parisian papers bawled about *the grand victory at Vernon obtained over THE ROYALISTS of Calvados*, when, foreseeing our consequent disasters, she hastened to dispose of all her valuables. She came to declare to me, that, thenceforward united to my fate, with me she would encounter banishment, perhaps want, and certainly numerous

merous dangers. It was then, that, penetrated with her generosity, and fully convinced, that my ill fortune could make no change in her disposition, I ventured to press her, to form that tie, which I had long wished, but which, as her divorce had taken place but ten months before, had hitherto been impracticable. Alas ! under what auspices was our contract made ! Pethion, Buzot, Salle, and Guadet, were our witnesses.

My wife urged me to hasten to the nearest port, there to throw ourselves on board the first vessel, that would carry us to America. I pointed out to her Lyons, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, making one last effort for the republic, in which it was my duty to assist. "Be it so," said she: "but we will part no more." To this I swore: how many times afterwards was I obliged, in spite of myself, to break my oath.

At Fougeres the battalions separated: that of *Mayenne* for Laval; that of *Ille and Vilaine* for Rennes; that of *Finistere* continued it's march to Brest. Each of the three was desirous of keeping us, and promised us protection. Protection was not sufficient. We had dispatched before us to Rennes a friend, named B—, who sent us word, that we should repair to that city, where we could procure conveyance to the sea-side, and thence, by some coaster, to Bourdeaux. Barbaroux opposed this strongly. He showed us, that it was far better to proceed towards Quimper, where *Kervélegan*, our colleague, who had set off several days before, would infallibly have provided us a temporary retreat, and the means of embarkation. His opinion prevailed; very fortunately, I am persuaded, for us.

From Fougeres, therefore, we took the way of *Dol*,

With the battalion of Finisterre. We slept, I believe, at *Antrain*. I say, I believe; for, my memory being much impaired, though I perfectly remember facts, yet sometimes places, and sometimes the exact dates of events escape me; and in the cavern, in which I write, I have nothing to assist me. I have not even a map of France. However, whether the town of *Antrain* be on this side of *Fougeres* or the other, certain it is, we ran some danger in it. This place was strongly jacobinical. About two hundred rascals had formed the gentle design of disarming the battalion in the night, whilst dispersed about in private houses, and then falling on the deputies, to send them to the *mountain*, if they suffered themselves to be taken, or to massacre them, if they made any resistance. The plot was discovered just in time: to defeat it we doubled our guards, and appointed a strong patrole; and the cut-throats went to bed.

A little before we reached *Dol* the alarm became hotter: we received certain information, that the municipality of that city had put it's volunteers under arms, drawn up it's artillery in order before the municipality, and sent to *St. Malo* for assistance from the garrison and national guard there; which, according to the gentlemen of *Dol*, might arrive in the evening, and consequently soon enough, since, though we intended to be there before noon, we meant to remain till the next day. On this news our brave soldiers made ready: their muskets and cannons were loaded: we doubled our speed, and arrived at *Dol* two hours earlier. We entered the town with fixed bayonets, and a quick step, and drew up before the town-house. In fact the guns were pointed; but they were silent. A deputation

deputation of volunteers went to the mayor, to demand an explanation of the hostile report, that was spread. He avowed his proceedings ; protesting, that they were not designed to prevent the return of the battalion, but to seize the *traitor* deputies, which it concealed in it's ranks. This answer enraged the bretons. If the commandant and we had not united to appease them, civil war would have commenced in Dol. At length they consented not to sleep in the town ; but it was necessary to dine there at least. They would not quit us, and we took one meal almost all together in the market-place. " If you have so great desire to take them," said they to the passers by, " beat to arms and come on." All this scarcely prepared us for what was to happen the next day.

Six miles from Dol, on the high road to Dinan, where we were to sleep, was a dangerous pass. It was a defile, on a height, at the entrance of a wood. The three thousand men from St. Malo, said to be on their march, might take this route, and wait here with infinite advantage, for our eight hundred brestes. Our battalion was aware of this, yet appeared not at all daunted : almost all of the men swore, to die before they would abandon us : we were in our ranks, firmly resolved not to fall alive into the hands of the satellites of the mountain. My Lodoiska and some women followed in a carriage. Their apprehensions may be easily conceived. At length, when we arrived at the dreaded place, we met not a single person*. At Dinan we

* We have since been assured, that the three thousand men at St. Malo had resolved, on the contrary, not to march against their brethren of Finisterre.

met a welcome reception: it was who could offer us beds.

At break of day we were awakened by a great noise. We found it to arise from our people disputing in the market-place. The disturbers of Lisieux had spent the night in working on the feeble-minded, and these had been led away by them: together they had raised this general assembly; together they cried, that, the convention being acknowledged, since the constitution was accepted, longer to protect deputies outlawed by it, was to compose a faction. The honest men, penetrated with grief, answered, that the majority of the departments had not yet acknowledged the rulers of the convention; and that, besides, to deliver up, or even abandon, virtuous representatives, who, confiding in the promises of the battalion, had preferred it to the other federated bretons, would be to dishonour Finisterre. This thought, above all, gave our friends, who were also the more numerous, unusual fire. In vain did a courier arrive with the strange news, that the three thousand men of St. Malo were coming to fall on Dinan, and that St. Brieux was marching troops on the other side, so that the battalion would be placed betwixt two fires: our friends observed, that no part of this was any way probable; but, were it all certain, we ought not to compound with our duties, and death would be preferable to disgrace. At length the parties grew warm: it was possible, that they might come to blows: we resolved to prevent this misfortune, and thenceforward to trust to ourselves alone for protection. When the brave fellows heard our resolve to quit the battalion, and to venture towards Quimper by cross roads,

roads, there was nothing they left unattempted to detain us. But they soon found our determination was fixed; and then, they were at least profuse in offering to assist us with every thing we wanted. Of all the money offered us we would accept none; but we permitted them to complete our equipment as volunteers, in which character we meant to pursue our journey; and it was necessary, for our security, that we were deficient in nothing. The best muskets were selected for us, with good sabres, and cartridge-boxes well filled. Our uniforms we covered with those white frocks bound with red, which soldiers commonly wear on a march. Six tried men, equipped like ourselves, were given us as a guard. In fine, an officer, whom I shall not name, signed our discharges, which expressed, that we were volunteers of Finisterre, returning the shortest way to Quimper, the place of our abode. We had full a hundred miles to travel on foot, through bad roads; and prudence bad us not be more than three days on our journey: thus it was impracticable to take Lodoiska with us. Our separation, however, would be short; she would go, with a proper passport, by the high road, to wait my arrival at Quimper; yet our parting cost us many tears.

Brave men of Finisterre *, we left you, and few of you could ever see any of us more. At least receive here

* I hear the commander of these brave men is one of those, who honoured the dungeons of the Conciergerie, formerly destined for the reception of guilt. A happy and inconceivable destiny preserved him to his friends, and to the republic, which will never possess a better citizen. After fourteen months of suffering, he at length enjoyed the

here the assurance of an esteem, which will end only with our lives. Often, in departments where we expected to meet with more energy, we regretted your's. The moment was at hand, when, compelled to wander without succour, we no longer found men resolute to defend us; too happy, if we could find any, that would receive us into their houses.

I ought here to repair an essential omission. I forgot to say, that this excellent battalion of Finisterre was not present at the affair of Vernon. Wimpfen, informed that it was at hand, and knowing well how it was composed, took care not to wait for it only three days, though he had delayed a whole month without any reason. He certainly calculated well: for I doubt not, however great the talents his Mr. de Puysay displayed in procuring himself to be taken by surprise, the surprise would never have succeeded, had the men of Finisterre been present.

Thus we set off, and this is the time to mention of whom our company was composed. We were in all nineteen: Pethion, Barbaroux, Salle, Buzot, Cussy, Lesage (of Eure and Loire), Bergoing (of Gironde), Giroust, Meillant, and myself; Girey-Dupré, and a worthy young man, named Riouffe, who came to us at

esteem, which an irreproachable life deserves. It was he, who saved the national convention on the 10th of march: it was he, whom we found again in our adversity: with whatever modesty he endeavours to conceal his name, history will claim it; history will know it in happier times. Repeatedly has he exposed his life in fighting for liberty: he has exposed it in serving his friends, the friends of the republic, and he appears unconscious of all. Happy, honourable party, that of the true republicans, called federalists, since it reckons in it's number such men!

Caen;

Caen ; our six guides ; and a servant of Buzot. *Lanjuinal* was wanting, who had only passed through Caen to visit us. *Guadet*, who was always wandering from the battalion, not being at Dinan at the critical moment, was obliged to pursue the high road to Quimper alone, which he did undiscovered. *Valady* remained behind with a friend, but joined us afterwards, from a series of favourable circumstances. *Lariviere* staid a long time on the coast of Falaise. *Ducbâtel* and *Kervélégan* had already set off for the neighbourhood of Quimper, to procure us lodgings. *Mollevant* had been gone some days. *Gorsas* had departed with his daughter for Rennes, where he had some friends, and which he imprudently left, to brave his assassins in Paris. We wanted also the spaniard, *Marchena*, a worthy friend of Brissot.

We pursued the high road, till we came to *Jugon*. There we struck out of it, and, after travelling a few miles, we came at dusk to a farm, of which only the kitchen and the barn were open to us. In the former we found for our supper nothing but a small hare, some brown bread, and bad cyder : in the latter there was only straw for our beds. We ate well, however ; and slept better. The next morning, at day break, we set off.

Already we had avoided *Lamballe* : and in our by-road we had only to pass a few paltry villages, where nineteen soldiers had nothing to fear, and two or three towns of some little strength, by which with due caution we might easily pass. A blunder of our guides brought us to the entrance of the town of *Moncontour*. Before we discovered it, we were so near, that we could not shun it without danger of incurring suspicion, and

hearing the alarm bell sounded. We entered it therefore. It happened to be a market-day: more than fifteen hundred country people, with a number of gendarmes, were assembled in the market-place, which we crossed with an appearance of unconcern by no means real. Riouffe, a bad marcher, was behind: a gendarme stopped him, read his discharge, and seemed inclined to conduct him to the municipality. He pointed to his comrades at a distance, and said: "but how shall I overtake them?" The soldier let him go.

As we were leaving this dangerous town, we met Mr. B—, who joined us with professions of friendship, perhaps then a little ill-timed. Surprised not to see us at Rennes, he had gone thence to meet us. At *Lamballe* he saw my sister; so I called my wife in public, it may easily be guessed why. She told him the road we had taken: in this he said we were wrong; that of Rennes would have been much better. He had besides a thousand things to say; and requested us to wait for him at some cottages, which he pointed out at a distance: thither he would bring us some provision, of which we had need; having marched ever since five o'clock, and it was now ten, without eating any thing. B— had been a member of the constituent assembly, where he behaved well: in December 1792, he was president of that club of marseillais, which would have saved the parisians, if the parisians would have listened to it: lastly he came to Caen as an officer in one of the battalions of the departments: thus every thing seemed combined to induce us to repose confidence in him. Unfortunately he made us lose an hour in these cottages; at length he came. The little provision he brought was soon

soon gone. He now began with telling us, that some of us had been known at Moncontour ; he had heard persons saying, " that's Buzot," " that's Pethion." He next repeated his scheme of going to Rennes, which was rejected : then he said, that we must be fatigued ; it was now the heat of the day ; we had already travelled ten or twelve miles, and in the evening might travel as many more, which would be sufficient ; he would conduct us to a thick copse, a mile or two off, where we should rest ourselves till four o'clock, and one of his nephews should bring us refreshments ; the same young man should afterwards be our guide six or seven miles farther, to the house of one of his relations, where he would wait for us, and prepare us good beds and something to revive us ; and thus we should have the advantage of passing the night in security. This consideration, certainly weighty, produced almost unanimous assent : I say *almost*, as, for my own part, I would rather have continued our journey straight forward with our guides.

He set off. We remained, lying squat on the ground, in the copse, around which some unlucky boys at play long gave us alarm. At length they retired : but it was on account of the rain. The thin foliage of the young trees soon bent under it's weight, and discharged it on us. Our irksome situation cannot easily be described. It was five o'clock before the nephew gave the appointed signal ; and still he had a quarter of an hour's business in the adjacent village, where he staid near an hour and half. Night was approaching when we began our march.

It soon became dark. We had walked a long time, yet were not arrived at the end of our journey. It was ten o'clock. Our guides, trusting to our new leader, had not noticed the road we took. At length they found, that he was going to lead us through a town of some strength, the name of which I am sorry I have forgotten. We declared we would not enter it. Our guides informed us, that there was another road. This we took, and passed round the town at some distance, when he heard the sound of drums. "It is the retreat," said the nephew. "The retreat is never beaten at this hour, in this season of the year," answered I. We listened; it was the beat to arms. We all knew it, except the young man, who pretended it was the manner of beating the retreat in this country.

Having passed the town, and being at some distance from it, we met B—. He conducted us to his relation's, where we were to have been expected. He was delighted, but surprised, to see us. B— had omitted to tell him, that we were coming: and this was not an excuse invented by him to save expense, for the next day he gave us a splendid breakfast. For supper we were obliged to be satisfied with an omelet, and a few tarts. As to the good beds promised us, there were but two. These we were obliged to unmake, and, spreading five mattresses on the ground in a sort of hall, we were to shift as we could.

B—, who had locked us up in his room, did not come to set us at liberty till eight in the morning. He charged us with having made too much noise. *An administrator of a neighbouring district* had slept in the chamber over us. He was unfriendly to our cause, and, if

he

he overheard us, we had reason to apprehend a pursuit. We breakfasted: he resumed the project of Rennes, but in vain. He then pressed us to remain in the country where we were: it was of the right spirit he said. For his part, he would engage to find us more asylums than we were persons. Buzot, though strong and in the flower of his age, was badly qualified for walking. The fatigue of the journey frightened him. He seconded B—'s proposal; and some of the rest sided with him. Pethion looked at me, with a shake of the head, I warmly combated the design: but two of our friends staid behind, notwithstanding all I could say. I know not what is become of one of them, *Lefage** (of Eure and Loire:) the other, *Giroult*, was taken a few months after, and is no more. When B— found all his offers rejected, he gave us one last advice: "You are going," said he, "to traverse a country, where every party excites suspicion: a score of soldiers, marching together, will be every where suspected: separate into threes and fours, and repair to some general rendezvous by different ways." This counsel we could not approve: our safety depended on our union. We set off together, therefore, and it will be seen, that we did right.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the course of the day, except that towards the close of the evening we found ourselves in a paltry village, about two miles from the little town of *Roternheim*, the chief place of the district, which was in our road, and must be avoided. It may be presumed, that we were not more desirous of sleep-

* I have heard, that he is alive, and I have even been assured, that *Giroult*, whose death was announced to the convention by a mountaineer, is safe,

ing at Roternheim, than of passing through it. The question was, whether we should avail ourselves of the night, to get by this dangerous place ; which would be attended with the inconvenience of obliging us to take our repose in some huts two miles beyond it, and consequently exposing us to suspicion. For how could it be imagined, that travellers, at such an hour, would pass a town, where they might find good lodgings, to put up with the accommodations of a hedge-alehouse ? To stop on this side the town was more natural ; for which the fatigue of some of our company would afford a plausible pretext. We stopped, therefore, at this village : and indeed, had we advanced the four miles farther, it would have been just the same thing : the danger, which we knew not awaited us, would have been equally inevitable, and would have come to awaken us, wherever we had chosen our place of rest.

At one in the morning it arrived. A voice cried, " Open the door, in the name of the law." We were all seventeen, luckily, in a large barn, where we did not want for straw. Our only candle was put out. One of us softly opened the door a little way, and shut it again instantly. " The house is surrounded," said he : A threatening voice without repeated more loudly, " In the name of the law, open the door." Instantly, to the profound silence, which the first surprise had occasioned, succeeded a single shout, a shout unanimous and terrible : *to arms !* We groped about for them, we dressed ourselves, in the dark. It could not be done very speedily. Occasionally *in the name of the law* was heard, but in a less firm tone. " We shall come out, as soon as we are ready," was the answer. I was a long

time

time searching for my musket, I remember, and called for it loudly: indeed I confess, that, like the rest, adapting myself to the character the situation prompted, I bawled as lustily as a cordelier. At length we opened the door. Before it presented himself a person in a three-coloured riband. A little behind him was a pretty large group of national guards. The place was enlightened by torches. "What are you doing there?" said the administrator of the district, roughly. "Sleeping;" answered Barbaroux. "Why in a barn?" "We would have preferred your bed;" replied I. "Who are you, Mr. jester?" "A tired volunteer, like his comrades, who did not expect to be roused so early;" said Riouffe, with a smile; "but no *Mr.* as you may suppose."—"You soldiers! we shall soon see that." One of our guides, whom we had made our commander, because he had seen service, and had served well, cried with a voice more than gay, "Certainly, you will see." "Show me your papers:" resumed the administrator. "In the market place, citizen, we will, if you desire it:" said Pethion. "Yes, yes," exclaimed several; "it is not in this barn that we shall explain ourselves." Our commander took the hint. "By your leave:" said he to the interrogator, whom he gently put back: then, going out, he cried, "finisterres, advance." In an instant we were out, drawn up in a line, and our muskets were shouldered at the word of command. The magistrate appeared astonished. The sequel informed us, that he had expected to find ten or a dozen fine gentlemen in dressing gowns, and only five or six men armed. On this supposition, he had prudently taken such measures, as would secure him a superiority in

In case of resistance. Not content with his fifty foot, he had also brought some horse. A brigade* of gendarmes paraded a few paces off. Notwithstanding the great inferiority of number, men, who knew, that victory alone could save them from the scaffold, might flatter themselves with the expectation of putting to flight this band, if reduced to that necessity: but it was not enough, that we knew the firmness of our resolutions; it was good, that our antagonists should know it also: and we spared nothing, that could convey to them this information. "They are armed from head to foot:" grumbled out some of the guard. In fact, beside our muskets, we were all provided with good pistols. For my share I had a present made me by Lodoiska, for my protection against the satellites of the duke of Orleans, and the *exhibition* of which at least had been more than once of service to me: this was a little piece, that could discharge twenty bullets at once, "Why have you so many weapons?" asked at length one of the boldest. I think it was Buzot answered, "because we are not to be told, that there are some rascals in this district, who delight in annoying the soldiers of the departments; and we are determined, that they, who do not love them, shall at least learn to respect them." "Those fellows do not sleep, it seems:" said I, after surveying them from head to foot. "But we will soon send them to sleep:" answered Barbaroux, whose height and bulk gave him a more imposing mien. In our small troop there were seven fine grenadiers like him, and the shortest of the other ten was at least five feet eight as well as myself.

* A brigade of cavalry is a party of four, five, or six,

I am very circumstantial: but I should in vain attempt to apologize for it to them who think me tedious; and I please myself with the imagination, that, within a few years, a time will come, when more than one reader will find gratification in these details. Who knows how interesting it may be rendered by the unforeseen events, that futurity will bring forth?

Observe, that the conversation, of which I have related only a small part, took place whilst the administrator, going along the front of our line, examined our discharges, which we successively produced. He finished by remarking, a little out of humour, that they were all in the same writing; to which it was answered, that it was because our officer always made use of the same hand for the purpose; and, if each of us had forged his own, they would have been different.

"Well, gentlemen," said he, with an embarrassed air, "what do you mean to do now? For my part, I would have you go to sleep again." The snare was too gross. We answered, that, since we had been awakened so early, we would avail ourselves of the mishap, to forward our journey.

He drew aside some officers, with whom he deliberated a moment: then, returning to us, he said: "be it so, if you please: but you must go to the district, where you are expected." Immediately we heard the march regulated thus: two gendarmes at the head, ten fusileers for the advanced guard, we next, then forty fusileers, and two gendarmes in the rear.

At the report of this threatening arrangement, our commander cried: "finisterres, order your arms!"—

They

They were ordered.—“ Fix your bayonets !”—Instantly they were fixed.

A favourable sound was heard amongst our antagonists : it was not that of ardent courage. The administrator came up to us in a fright, and with a trembling voice asked, if we meant to resist.—“ Yes, oppression,” said Cussy, of Calvados, “ be assured. Are we free ? or are we not ?”—“ If we meant to treat you as prisoners, we should take away your weapons.”—“ You would first take our lives :” replied Pethion ; and our six brave guards, who had all fought in Vendee, cried: “ You disarm us ! you are many, to be sure, but not quite enough for that.”—“ But, citizens, do you refuse to come with us to Roternheim ?”—“ We do not refuse, for it is our road. Only we shall be on our guard.”—“ Do you suppose, that we entertain any ill designs ?”—“ You display hostile dispositions. And how can we tell who you are : have we any means of knowing you ?”—“ You shall know who we are at Roternheim.”—“ Very well : let us march.”—

On our march we sung in full chorus the beautiful marseillaise hymn, which was very suitable to our situation. But if our tongues were active on the road, our thoughts were elsewhere. They inquired what was prepared for us, and how we should behave at Roternheim. The same idea entered the heads of almost all of us at the same time. If they meant to arrest us, we would demand leave to speak to the people assembled. Were this granted, we should probably be triumphant. Were we refused, we would have recourse to our arms, and fight to the last drop of blood in our veins.

Some

Some more inquisitive than the rest, permitted no doubt to quit their ranks, came to interrupt our song, and our reflections, putting to us many insidious questions. "Did you see Charlotte Corday at Caen?" said one of them to me. "Our battalion had not arrived there at the time of the murder:" answered I. "It was the deed of an assassin:" replied he.—"Yes, without meaning to compare Marat to Cæsar, such an one as that of Brutus."—My questioner, though not pleased, went on; and as I was afraid, that some colleague, interrogated on his side, might give an answer inconsistent with mine, I repulsed my man with a *dansons la camagnole!* so loud and incessant, that he could not make me hear another word.

Amongst the number we had also friends, and some of them recognized us. One came and clapped me on the shoulder: "bravo! bravo! we are brothers: they told us you were refractory priests."—"It is more than probable, that they, who said so, did not believe it."—"I fancy not:" replied he. Another took Pethion by the hand, and squeezing it said: "be firm, you will find friends."

At length we entered the redoubted town; and though there was light in several houses, sleep seemed generally to prevail. Our enemies found no reinforcement: all the national guards in the place appeared to have been sent against us: they were drawn up in a semicircle in the market place, and the brigade of gendarmes was a little to the right. We were directed to go up to the first floor of a house which was pointed out to us: thither we repaired in good order: all the administrators were assemoled: they perused our discharges, but with

much

much more civility: then they retired to a corner of the room. The president returned to us and said, "we are going to appoint you quarters." We repeated in form our intention to continue our march, and to reach home that day. He remarked in objection, that it was near thirty miles off. We replied, it was only three o'clock in the morning: and persisted in our purpose. This occasioned a fresh deliberation of greater length: an officer was called: he went out and returned several times: at length they said, " My lads, citizens, you will take a glass of cider." We were apprehensive, that to refuse would appear affectation. Accordingly we were led down stairs to a large hall on the ground floor. One quarter of an hour passed away: no cider, " What are we doing here ?" said I: " let us begone:" and then I began singing as loud as I could bawl, all of us still with our arms in our hands. Some inquisitive persons had thrust themselves amongst us, and I broke off, to say to one of them, with an air of unconcern: " what, is it true, that they have told you we were priests ?"—" O much worse than that :" answered he, and then with a look of mystery he added, " famous traitors to your country, comrade." At this I burst out in a laugh, and began anew my *dansons la car-magnole!*

" What !" cried I at last, " are we to lose an hour for a glass of cider? Let us set off." We had begun to move: the cider was brought. Whilst we were drinking, an administrator, his motive I will leave the reader to guess, perhaps it was to observe us, came and said: " citizens, you shall see, that we had grounds for suspecting you: here is the denunciation we have received."

ceived." Folding down the top and bottom of a letter, no doubt to prevent our seeing either the name or date, he read the middle part: "Pethion, Barbaroux, Buzot, Louvet, Salle, Meillant, and several of their colleagues, will pass, and probably stop, in the environs of your town. They have five men as an escort." The magistrate ceased reading: but we, for the most part, ceased not our singing, and appeared not even to lend an ear, though not the least word escaped one of us. From the reading of this letter we concluded, for the moment, that orders were given to arrest us: and as no hint was given us to remain, after we had drunk off our glasses and taken leave, we advanced in a body, with our bayonets charged, to the door, where we expected to be attacked on our exit. What was our astonishment, not to see a single person in the square! We have since learnt, that all the well disposed and indifferent retired, as soon as we entered the house; and the maratists, reduced to some thirty, calculating that we were seventeen resolute fellows, and that consequently they could not hope to assassinate us, but must fight, and vigorously too, in their turn withdrew.— Hence the long deliberation of the messieurs of the district; the goings and comings of the officer; the insidious proposal of quarters, by which they hoped to divide and disarm us; and lastly the offer of cider, with a view to gain time. However it was, we had a fine escape: we set off with hearts full of joy, and thanking our divine protector: but we were not yet clear.

Our morning was very laborious: by eight o'clock it
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Our morning was very laborious: by eight o'clock it
grew

grew hot: at least half our troop was tired: on account of these laggards, we were obliged to proceed slowly, though we were on a barren heath, where for upwards of twenty miles we should find nothing but rivulets to quench our thirst. Cussy, attacked with a fit of the gout, groaned at every step: Buzot, lightened of all his accoutrements, was still too heavy: Barbroux, not less ponderous, though more courageous, as corpulent at eight and twenty as a man of forty, and rendered lame by a sprain, dragged himself along with difficulty, leaning at one time on my arm, at another on that of Pethion or Salle, equally indefatigable: in fine, Riouffe, obliged to pull off his tight boots, which pinched him severely, was obliged to walk barefoot, almost on tiptoe, his heels being raw. Thus, though we had been on otr legs ever since one in the morning, we had not advanced above ten miles at most, when, in a hamlet, our good fortune showed us, a little before noon, a sort of inn, a sort of dinner, and an hour's rest. In vain did our lame companions propose to stay till the evening: the information given us by our host impelled us to be gone. This man examined us narrowly; and, as we loudly vociferated our patriotic songs, whilst devouring his bacon omelet, he seemed astonished. His manner struck me: I asked him to take a glass of our cider: he declined it: I pressed him: at length, one glass having made way for another, he finished with saying: " faith, citizens, I am delighted: you appear to me all good patriots."—
 " Assuredly we are."— " Yet what enemies people have!

have ! I have no doubt, from the description given me, but you are the persons pursued : you must pass through *Carhaix* : two brigades of gendarmes are waiting for you there."

We departed : speed was requisite ; but the laggards lagged more than ever, particularly Riouffe, whose feet were quite raw, and who was forced to rest every ten steps. Thus we were near ten hours by the clock in walking as many miles. It was night when we found ourselves at a small distance from *Carhaix*. After some attempts, our guides declared it was impossible for them to advance, because it was too dark to distinguish the only narrow path, by which it was practicable to go round the town, and if they missed their way ever so little, we should infallibly get into the marshes and flounder in the mud till day-light. They added, what was very vexatious, that even in the day we must go so near *Carhaix*, as to be easily discoverable ; and they knew no other way : but if we followed the high road, we should have only one little street of the town to pass. "Very well, my friends," said I : "you hear it strikes ten : every one in the town is asleep, probably the gendarmes themselves, who know very well, that one good nap is worth ten musket-shots. Let us cock our firelocks, advance in a body, march without noise, and pass quietly through the street." Some cried out against this : many of our invalids, stretched on the ground, would rather sleep than take part in the debate. "Since we must die," said Cussy, "I had rather die here than ten miles farther on." But Barbaroux, always superior to bodily sufferings, supported my opinion. "Supposing the gendarmes are still on the

watch for us," said he, " we shall have passed the street before they can be on horseback. Will they venture to pursue us in the middle of the night? From behind every bush, we can annoy them with our muskets, without their being able to know, whence the balls come. To night there are but ten: at break of day there may be twenty: if they ring out the alarm-bell at this time of night, few will assemble, and we shall have advanced a considerable way, before the whole troop can be collected: by day, on the contrary, the numbers will be against us. At any rate, we must keep the field for this night: let us make the best use of it: let us turn it to our safety. Come, my friends," said he to the lame, " I pity you, I am not insensible of your pains, for I share them, pluck up your courage; exert yourselves once more; let us march to-night on our knees, if we cannot stand on our feet; by day-break we may be at Quimper; if the gendarmes attack us now, they cannot see us, we shall hear them, and their horses will assist us to finish our journey."

This speech inspired us all with fresh strength: no one felt his sores: we rose, embraced, laughed, and moved on.

We had traversed three-fourths of the street in profound silence, delighted with the stillness, that prevailed around us, when a little girl, concealed in a dark nook started out on a sudden, pushed open the door of a house where we saw a light, and said, so that we could hear distinctly, " they are passing by." Thus discovered, we doubled our pace; and turned to the left, into a hollow way, so dark, that it was impossible to

distinguish any thing. Some one said, "I hear horses." It must be confessed, at that moment, the most resolute of us was not very tranquil. The pressing danger gave agility to the most fatigued. We soon reached the end of our short path, and in less than an hour we had advanced two miles in another, so smooth, so pleasing, that it appeared more like a walk in a park than a high-road. There we saw hedges, behind which we might safely defy all the gendarmes in the department. Were we really pursued? We halted, listened, and could hear nothing: but on assembling together, two of our party were missing: they were our principal guides; at the entrance of the town, we had seen them marching at our head: perhaps they had stopped for some necessary occasion. We lay down on the grass, and waited for them an hour. Salle, I think, then fancied, that, being a little ahead, they had taken perhaps a different path in the hollow way, without our perceiving it from the darkness, and that we were wandering out of our road. On this a thousand conjectures were formed: the guides who remained were unacquainted with this part of the road: we must endeavour to regain that taken by the others: for this it was not necessary, absolutely to measure back our steps, we might strike into the fields, and advance towards the right. Thus our resolution was formed: we laboured over some troublesome ground, then there was a ditch to leap, a hedge to get over, meadows to cross: now we were entangled in a marsh: getting out of this we fell into a deeper slough; once we were up to our knees, and I, having made a false step, was like to have been over head and ears. To extricate ourselves, we were forced to leap

fresh ditches, and pass through bushes, that scratched us to pieces. At length, after two hours inexpressible labour, exhausted, bruised, and crippled, we found ourselves in a plain road. Imagine our vexation, when we found, that we had taken a turn, which brought us into the very road we had quitted ; with this additional misfortune, that we were much nearer the town, than when we set out. The fatal hollow way was not more than two gun-shots off.

What was to be done ? Must we return to the hollow way ? must we re-enter Carhaix, and traverse it in a different direction ? After all, was not this road, which we had determined to quit, ~~the~~ right one ? It was prudent to endeavour to find this out in the first place. Bergoing, and another brave fellow, I forget who, offered to attempt the discovery. In a quarter of an hour they returned. They had gone quite into the town, and had found no road leading out of the hollow way, but that we had taken ; except a narrow path at one end, which could not be supposed to lead to Quimper. Of course the road we were in was in all probability the right. We pursued it again, therefore, heartless and sad ; all of us were more or less jaded, and we were uncertain to what place it led.

After half an hour's walking, or rather endeavours to walk, we were compelled to rest. Never appeared down so soft to us, as the grass on which we repos'd : never was an hour more profitably employed in sleep. The most exhausted acquired from it some renewal of strength. For another hour we walked on gaily enough ;

enough; but as day broke, we made two unpleasant discoveries.

The first was, that one of our guides had remained asleep, and been left behind without our noticing it, at the place of our last halt. The least fatigued of us was not in a condition to return to seek him; and the most clear-sighted would not have known again the place where we rested. Thus of our six guides only one was left; for I had forgotten to mention, that, on leaving Roternheim, we had thought it proper to send two of them on before, to inform Kervélégan, that we reckoned on being in the environs of Quimper the next day, and that he should dispatch some one to meet us. Two more, it may be remembered, had disappeared. These, we afterwards learnt, worn out with fatigue, had turned into the little path at Carhaix, observed by Bergoing, without saying any thing to us, supposing, that we would not assent to it; and had lain down on the grass about a mile from the town, and slept all night. Thence they had reached Quimper through by-ways, with which they were acquainted. Two of our colleagues having left us, as the reader will recollect, to remain with B—, our little company was reduced to twelve.

The other discovery was, that our weary found but a very transient renovation of vigour from sleep. Now one sunk down, and would not rise; then, another. The loss of time might be to us irreparable.

By degrees the sun rose, and we advanced on our unknown road: yet an enemy, not less troublesome than fatigue, pursued us. This was hunger. We soon discovered a house, and some hovels: but no sooner

were we perceived, however great the distance; than doors and windows were shut on all sides. The poor creatures had not even courage to answer the questions we put to them through the cat-holes: they took us for real jacobins.

At length we met a traveller, from whom we learnt, that we were indeed on the road to Quimper, and not more than four miles from it. This gave us great joy: though it was soon succeeded by uneasiness. We must not think of entering Quimper by day: we could not even approach it nearer, without imprudence: and it would be equally improper to stop in the road, exposed to the observation of every passenger; yet, if we were to quit it, how would Kervélegan or his messenger find us? The two guides we dispatched from Roternheim were to point out to him a place of rendezvous in a retired part of the wood we were now traversing: but this place was known only to the two guides, who had left us in the night, and consequently we were unable to avail ourselves of it. Our only resource was to send the single guide we had left to Quimper, and to wait in a recess of the wood, till he should return with some friend to fetch us. This step, adviseable as it appeared, was desperate. It was impossible, that he could return before noon: it was next to impossible, that a dozen armed men could be so long in the wood, exposed to a heavy rain, without being noticed by some of the neighbouring peasants; and at any rate we could not pass ourselves for inhabitants of Quimper, as there was not one amongst us, who understood the low breton language, in which we should be accosted. Nevertheless there was no alternative; our guide concealed us as well

well as he could behind the bushes, under some large trees, and departed.

It was now almost eight o'clock, and near thirty-one hours had passed, since our half-night's rest and surprise at Roternheim, during which we had stumbled from snare to snare, from mishap to mishap. We were sinking under fatigue, hunger, and want of sleep: yet what could we eat, grass? and where could we repose? how could we sleep? We lay in a river; for the storm was so heavy, that notwithstanding the trees it poured down upon us in torrents; and in this situation we were to remain at least four hours. It seemed impossible for the strongest of us to support it.

I confess the hour of despondency was come. Riouffe and Girey-Dupré, whose inexhaustible gaiety had hitherto never failed, now gave us nothing but faint smiles. The ardent Cussy accused nature; Salle vented his spite against her; Buzot appeared heartless; even Barbaroux felt his great mind depressed; for my part, I saw a last resource in my pocket pistol, but then the torture of parting from Lodoiska! O gods!—Pethion alone, and thus I saw him through the whole of this journey, Pethion, immovable, braved every want, and preserved a calm and undisturbed countenance in the midst of his new dangers, and smiled at the violence of the hostile heavens. Hostile! What have I said? How ungrateful! In our distress the help of Providence alone could save us; and this help was not delayed many minutes.

The guide had not gone far, before he met a man on horseback, who viewed him inquisitively as he passed, turned his head to look at him, and then rode back to

ask, whether he were not a federate of Finisterre. Our guide hesitatingly, said yes. New questions were then risked with studied obscurity; and new answers were ventured with cautious reserve. They advanced, drew back, observed and sounded each other reciprocally. At length confidence was established, and they came to an explanation. The stranger was one of our friends, a friend of Kervélégan. Our two messengers from Roternheim had not yet appeared. I know not what impulse had prompted this man to mount his horse early in the morning, and take a ride on this road, to try whether he should not meet with some one, who had heard news of us. One moment later, our guide would have missed him, for he was seeking a shelter from the violence of the storm, in which he was caught.

As soon as this preserving angel was announced to us, I remembered no longer, that I stood in need of a bed, of food, of a shelter against the rain that deluged me: I thought only of inquiring after Lodoiska. She had reached Quimper, but not without danger. After meeting B—— she had pursued her journey. On her arrival at St. Brieux, she found a *denunciation* had arrived before her. Arrested by a gendarme, she extricated herself out of the hands of the municipality only by the address and firmness of her answers. O my Lodoiska! thy courage and good sense then protected me from the greatest danger I had yet incurred. Hadst thou fallen into the clutches of our persecutors, what would it have availed me, to have escaped the snares, with which I was surrounded on every side!

Our new guide led us at first to the house of a peasant,

sant, where our appearance would never have procured us the little brown bread, and small glass of brandy, which were given us. The nicest cake and finest cordials never tasted to us so delicious. We were then introduced as quietly as possible to the house of a constitutional clergyman, to whom we were introduced as soldiers returned from the pursuit of some refractory persons. The good man dried us, warmed us, fed us, and gave us lodging till the evening. At night we repaired to a little wood, where other friends waited for us. They brought horses for the lame. After two hours journeying we were obliged to separate: painfully, there can be no doubt; for the common dangers we had run had bound us together in the ties of the most sacred friendship. I embraced Salle: I embraced Cussy and Girey-Dupré. Alas! it was decreed, that I should never see these two more. All five* went to Kervélégan's. They wished me to go with them, but Quimper held a pledge too precious for me to go elsewhere. Buzot was taken to the house of an honest man, two gun-shots from the town. Pethion repaired to a neighbouring country seat where Guadet was waiting for him. Riouffe, Barbaroux, and I, went to an excellent citizen, whose civilities I shall never forget.

The next day I received a visit from my beloved Lodoiska. She had been so imprudent as to go and lodge

* Two names appear to have been omitted in the original, as only three are yet mentioned. Those of Bergoing and Meillant, who were of the party, do not occur: probably they should have followed that of Salle. T.

at an inn, instead of stopping at the house of an old friend she had in the town, where she would have been less noticed. This by no means abated our ardour in pursuing our first project, which had been to hire a country house in the environs of Quimper, to which I would go to conceal myself, and where we might remain together, till we found an opportunity of embarking.

Of such an opportunity we saw no near prospect. On the little river which runs by Quimper, to fall into the sea, was a small decked vessel, laid up on account of it's age. Duchâtel, who came to see us with Bois-Guyon, said, that he had procured this vessel to be inspected, and it was found, that ten or twelve hundred livres [£.40 or £.50], laid out on repairs, would make it almost new again. The difficulty was to get workmen, whence the business must go on very slowly. As soon as the vessel was finished, we might all embark, and three days fair wind would carry us to Bourdeaux. I asked him, what measures had been taken, or were to be adopted, to induce the officers, who were appointed to examine the passports of all who went up or down the river, to permit us to proceed ; and what reasonable hope we could have of escaping the english cruisers, which then covered the sea. Duchâtel answered vaguely, all that was very easy : however he pointed out no particular means. He was indeed a young man of intrepidity ; but his levity and imprudence were carried to the extreme of rashness. At this very juncture, for instance, he lodged at an inn, and under his own name ; walked all about the town, and concealed from no one, that he was a proscribed deputy ; fitted out the vessel openly ;

openly ; and we thought ourselves very happy, that he consented not to mention it was for others beside himself. Yet how many good qualities compensated this fault ! What real courage did he not display in arduous situations !

Not knowing of what to accuse him, to effect his ruin, the faction had recourse to it's familiar practice of imputing to others it's own crimes. They charged him with corresponding with the vendees, and having born arms for them : whilst, on the contrary, he had fought the whole day against the royalists before Nantes in the battle of the 20th of may, and had contributed to the victory on that occasion almost as much as Beyser. Yet this brave republican is dead ; he died on the scaffold, slandered with the imputation of royalism ! Now, however, the real promoters of the war in Vendée are known ; most of them have paid for their treachery with their heads : Duchâtel is revenged.

My Lodoiska, however, had just found a neat little house in the country, with a tolerably large garden. There she expected me. I flew thither : I left thee, my dear Barbaroux, but thou wilt forgive me : thou knowest the love I bore her, and how well she deserved it. I have seen thee in the midst of the varied pleasures, with which a thousand enchantresses, attracted by thy handsome form, intoxicated thee : but thy inconstancy soon tiring them, I have seen thee a hundred times envy the delights of that real love, at once passionate and tender, respectful and fortunate, ever constant yet always new, which my wife inspired and repaid.

In the first place, for fear of an attack, she contrived me a retreat inaccessible to assassins. This precaution taken,

taken, we gave ourselves up to the present happiness of our situation : we resumed that simple and retired mode of life, which had for us so many charms, and which we had found so painful to relinquish. Few persons came to disturb our delightful retreat : and never but in the evening. All the day we enjoyed the happiness of being together : ah why had it no more than twenty-four hours ! How rapturous were those days, preceded by so many storms, and which so many were yet to follow ! O Penars ! for ever present to my remembrance, mayest thou become dear to all true lovers ! thou restoredst to me all the delights of Evry !

I was so pleased with Penars, that I would not leave it to go on board the vessel. Besides, I waited for the less hazardous embarkation Pethion and Guadet were preparing at Brest. The vessel set sail with nine passengers, These were Cussy, Duchâtel, Bois-Guyon, Girey-Dupré, Salle, Meillant, Bergoing, a spaniard of the name of Marchena, a worthy and unfortunate friend of Brissot, and Riouffe, much grieved at not having us in company. The last two had come to fight for liberty with us at Caen, and they had since resolved to participate all our dangers.

At the moment of departure, and not before, Guadet, Buzot, and Pethion, gave us to understand, that they would repair to Bourdeaux as soon as possible by another conveyance. I had long said, that I would follow their fates ; and Barbaroux, fortunately for himself, was just taken with the small-pox. I say fortunately, for all, who set foot on board that unlucky vessel, were soon taken.

This is a proper time to remark, that B—— had come, as I foresaw, to seek us at Quimper.

had

had no difficulty in finding Duchâtel: but Duchâtel, resolved not to trust our secret again to any one, told him, that we were in the environs of l'Orient.

Happily the commissioners of the mountain durst not yet enter Finisterre, where the public opinion was too much against them. They sent before them emissaries, directed to prepare the jacobins by dint of assignats. A maratist party began to raise it's head in the club of Quimper. There it was moved, to make domiciliary visitations to the houses in the neighbourhood of the town, where, a report circulated, some *traitors to their country* were concealed. The happiness of Penars was too great to be permanent: scarcely had it begun, when it was obliged to be relinquished.

I repaired to a solitary house some miles off, where excellent people received me as a boarder. Separated from my friends, separated from Lodoiska, I felt a mortal languor. There I composed my *Hymn to Death*. I meant to sing it on my way to the scaffold, if I fell into the hands of my enemies.

AIR : *Veillons au salut de l'empire**.

Des vils oppresseurs de la France,
J'ai denoncé les attentats :
Ils sont vainqueurs, et leur vengeance
Ordonne aussi-tôt mon trépas.

Li-

* Not having leisure to give a translation in verse of the Hymn to Death, I have thought it best to print the original, and subjoin the following literal version for the mere english reader. T.

Of the vile oppressors of France
I have denounced the crimes :
They have vanquished, and their vengeance
Ordains my instant death.

Liberty !

Liberté ! Liberté ! reçois donc mon dernier hommage !
 Tyrans, frappez, l'homme libre enviera mon destin :
 Plutôt la mort que l'esclavage,
 C'est le vœu d'un républicain !

Si j'avais servi leur furie,
 Ils m'auraient prodigué de l'or ;
 J'aimai mieux servir ma patrie,
 J'aimai mieux recevoir la mort.

Liberté ! Liberté ! quelle âme à ton feu ne s'anime !
 Tyrans, frappez, l'homme libre enviera mon destin :
 Plutôt le trépas que le crime,
 C'est le vœu d'un républicain !

Que mon exemple vous inspire
 Amis, armez vous pour vos lois :
 Avec les rois Collot conspire,
 Ecrasez Collot et les rois.

Robespierre,

Liberty ! liberty ! receive my last homage !
 Strike, tyrants, the man who is free will envy my fate !
 Death rather than slavery,
 Is the wish of a republican.

Would I have been the minister of their rage,
 On me would have been showered their gold :
 I preferred to serve my country,
 I preferred to receive death.

Liberty ! liberty ! what mind is not roused by thy flame !
 Strike, tyrants, the man who is free will envy my fate !
 Death rather than guilt,
 Is the wish of a republican.

Let my example inspire you,
 My friends, arm for our laws :
 Collot conspires with the kings ;
 Crush both the kings and Collot.

Robespierre,

Robespierre, et vous tous, vous tous que le meurtre accompagne !

Tyrans, tremblez, vous devez expier vos forfaits :
Plutôt la mort que la montagne,
Est le cri du fier lyonnais !

Et toi, qu'à regret je delaïsse,
Amante, si chère à mon cœur :
Bannis toute indigne faiblesse,
Sois plus forte que ta douleur.

Liberté ! Liberté ! ranime et soutiens son courage !
Pour toi, pour moi qu'elle porte le poids de ses jours :
Son sein, peut-être, enferme un gage,
L'unique fruit de nos amours !

Digne épouse, sois digne mère,
Prends ton élève en son berceau !

Redis-

Robespierre, and all ye, all ye, on whom murder attends,
Tremble ; tyrants, ye will expiate your crimes.
Death rather than the mountain,
Is the cry of the brave lyonnese.

And thou, whom I leave with regret,
Beloved, so dear to my heart,
Banish all unbecoming weaknes,
Be thy fortitude stronger than thy grief.

Liberty ! liberty ! revive and support her courage !
For thee, for me, let her support the weight of life :
Perhaps her womb cherishes a pledge,
The sole fruit of our loves.

Worthy wife, be a worthy mother !
Tell thy infant in his cradle,

Often

Redis-lui souvent que son père,
Mourut du trépas le plus beau !

Liberté ! Liberté ! qu'il t'offre son plus pur hommage !

Tyrans, tremblez, redoutez un enfant généreux !

Plutôt la mort que l'esclavage,
Sera le premier de ses vœux !

Que si d'un nouveau Robespierre
Ton pays était tourmenté,
Mon fils, ne venge point ton père,
Mon fils, venge la Liberté !

Liberté ! Liberté ! qu'un succès meilleur l'accompagne !

Tyrans, fuyez, emportez vos enfans odieux !

Plutôt la mort que la montagne,
Sera le cri de nos neveux !

Oui, des bourreaux de l'Abbaye
Les succès affreux seront courts !

Un

Often tell him, that his father
Died the most noble death.

Liberty ! liberty ! to thee may he offer his purest homage !

Tremble, tyrants ; dread a generous child !

Death rather than slavery
Will be the first of his wishes.

But if with some new Robespierre
Thy country be afflicted,
My son, revenge not thy father,
My son, revenge liberty !

Liberty ! liberty ! may better success attend thee !

Flee, tyrants ; carry with you your detestable offspring,
Death rather than the mountain,
Will be the cry of our descendants.

Yes, of the murderers of the abbey
The fearful successes will be short !

A monter

Un monstre effrayait sa patrie,
Une fille a tranché ses jours !

Liberté ! Liberté ! que ton bras sur eux se promène !

Tremblez, tyrans, vos forfaits appellent nos vertus !

Marat est mort chargé de haine,
Corday vit auprès de Brutus !

Mais la foule se presse et crie ;

Peuple infortuné, je t'entends !

Adieu, ma famille chérie,

Adieu, mes amis de vingt ans !

Liberté ! Liberté ! pardonne à la foule abusée !

Mais, vous, tyrans ! le Midi peut encor vous punir :

Moi, je m'en vais dans l'Elysée,

Avec Sydney m'entretenir !

A monster terrified his country :

A woman shortened his days.

Liberty ! liberty ! stretch out thine arm against them !

Tremble, tyrants ; your crimes call forth our virtues.

Marat is dead, loaded with detestation :

Corday lives with Brutus.

But the crowd presses, and shouts.

Unhappy people ! I understand you.

Adieu, my loved family !

Adieu, my twenty years tried friends !

Liberty ! liberty ! forgive the misled multitude !

But you, tyrants, you the South may yet punish.

For me, I fly to Elysium,

To converse with Sidney.

I had been more than a fortnight in this retreat, where the time appeared very tedious, when a national guard came to inquire for me. He was a stranger, who had rendered me most important service. The moment when my Lodoiska was denoncied to the club by a man, who said, in direct terms, that, since the wife of Guadet had been put under arrest, the sister of Louvet might well be treated in the same manner, he had given her notice of it, and removed her to his own house. He now came to invite me to share her retreat.—Imagine my joy.

Whilst waiting for the arrival of night, the benevolent envoy of Lodoiska took some repose. He had need of it: for I ought to have received the evening before a letter from my wife, which did not come to my hands till that morning, in which a place of assignation was pointed out, where he waited for me till day break, during the whole of a tempestuous night. Uneasy at not having seen me, he had walked many miles to bring me a fresh letter from my wife, and to offer me every thing I wanted at his own house. So much zeal appeared to me astonishing on the part of a man, who knew me only by report: but he was one of the most generous of mortals, one of the most extraordinary men this world can boast. Nothing was to him a trouble, when he thought he could render service to them, whom he believed to merit his esteem.

He concealed us both in a chamber, over which lodged a gendarme, whom his comrades were visiting all hours of the day; and they frequently knocked at our door, supposing it to be that of their friend. Were there any dangerous commission to be executed, he would take it upon himself. One vile rascal, a worthy delegate of the executive power, had just arrived with secret orders:

he would accost him, drink with him, and endeavour to learn his business. Barbaroux was on the point of wanting an asylum : he offered to put a third bed in our little apartment. Domiciliary visitations were ordered : no matter, he would not permit us to quit his house ; and himself made us with unparalleled skill and readiness a wooden hiding place, not easy to be discovered. At the critical period, when almost every house was searched, my wife and I remained a whole day in that niche, whilst he waited calmly in the room, determined, if we should be discovered, to fight with the inquisitors to the last drop of blood. The expected embarkation was long delayed : he would go, at any risk, to get information, and hasten the moment of departure. Probably we should want passports : if he could not procure us any, he would fabricate some. Whilst we waited for the embarkation, which might still be deferred a considerable time, my wife talked of venturing an excursion to Paris, necessary to preserve the wreck of our little fortune : that he might be at hand to assist or defend her in case of need, he would go and return with her. In fine I was uneasy about Pethion, Guadet, and Buzot : he had long had such a desire to see them ! if I were not afraid to trust him with the place of their retreat, he would go to them from me. At any rate, he would relinquish for no one the pleasure of attending us to the sea-side, the day of our departure, with horses, arms, and provision.

Our friend in short was everything : an expert seaman, a good soldier, an able physician, an ingenious carpenter, a skilful locksmith, a great walker in case of need, and a complete master of the small sword : then he was very fit for

a counting-house or a cabinet, a manufactory or a public office, a situation that required responsibility, or one that demanded talents. But what contributed most to fix him in my esteem was the taste I discovered in him for the gentler sciences, those fine arts, which indicate virtuous and peaceable dispositions in them by whom they are cultivated. He could draw, he could paint; he was an architect, he was a botanist. Then how amiable and solid were his private qualities ! an economist, yet liberal ; laborious and disinterested ; attentive and mild to his servants ; so kind to his child ! so affectionate to his wife ! O how proud was I of his friendship, when I beheld him in domestic life.

It was at his house we learnt the news, that Toulon had been surrendered to the english. But by whom was it surrendered ? The ignorant multitude said *the federalists*. Persons less ignorant thought it more natural, that despair had driven the inhabitants to this extremity; and that, reduced to the necessity of a choice, they had preferred a foreign yoke to that of the rulers of the convention. Men better informed doubted not but it was *the mountain*. Recollect the manœuvres of Wimpfen to shut us up in Caen, establish there the seat of insurrection in the west, and urge us to measures, which would give us the appearance of being attached to royalty and the english, thus furnishing the mountain with the means of rendering us unpopular, bringing our cause into discredit, detaching from it the truly republican departments, and bringing us to the scaffold, by fixing upon us, with every appearance of justice, the crimes of which itself was guilty. This attempt, having failed in the west, became so much the more necessary in the south.

south. There dwelt numbers of men passionately enamoured of liberty ; there prevailed an excellent public spirit ; there were honoured and cherished those founders of the republic, who were torn from their functions on the 31st of may ; there the Marats, the Robespierres, and all the exterminators, were despised and detested ; and Marseilles had just obtained legal proof, that these had never ceased conspiring to place Orleans on the throne ; except Robespierre, who notwithstanding aided their proceedings, though with different views. Of these I believe I have said enough. Marseilles, with it's usual energy, had first given the signal for resistance to oppression. This was so well received, that it found itself the centre of a coalition of the departments, which embraced in it's vast circuit Nismes, Montpellier, Narbonne, Perpignan, Toulouse, Montauban, and Bourdeaux, to the left ; Aix, Lyons*, Bourg, Lons-le-Saunier, and Besançon, to the right ; Angoulême, Limoges, Clermont, Moulins, Châlons, and even Dijon, in front ; thence advancing in a point as far as Rheims, by Troyes and Châlons †, it formed a full half of France, and threatened with it's magnitude to crush all the agents of kings. This menacing band, therefore, it was indispensably necessary to break, whatever it might cost. If one of the most important of the confederated cities should set up the standard of royalty, the rest of the coalition would fall upon it with indignant

* At this place the chiefs of the soldiery were in secret royalists ; but they would have been sufficiently restrained by the administrations and the people, all of whom were republicans.

† There are two places of this name, this in the department of Marne, that before mentioned in the department of Saone-Loire. T.

fury. The south, ready to rush on the tyrants of Paris, would stop to turn it's efforts against a part of itself. The mountain, whilst secretly prompting it to this step, would exculpate itself from the charge of royalism, which would indirectly glance upon the proscribed deputies of the 31st of May; and the insurrection of the republicans would be stifled.

Where was a city more proper than Toulon for this manœuvre of the mountain machiavelianism? There considerable numbers of mechanics, unenlightened and without a will of their own, were always ready to receive, for a morsel of bread, any impressions suggested to them. They had long been set in motion for anarchy by the help of assignats: a few more would make them, in appearance at least, demand the return of order. The principal officers of the navy and of the garrison were for the most part royalists: the late minister of the marine, completely devoted to the faction, had chosen men to be at the head of the commotion: the watch-word had been given to them, as well as to Wimpfen: they would appear to collect their forces for the republic, and in due time they would direct them to the destruction of republicans.

This due time arrived. Toulon, hitherto violently jacobinical, declared on a sudden for the republic, and soon betrayed it. Toulon was delivered to the English: and, for reasons which it will probably be forced to explain on some future day, the committee of public safety propagated, and permitted to subsist for six months, a report that the English had hanged Beauvais. The other deputy, Bayle, killed himself in prison.— Bayle was a passionate and vulgar man, whom the ex-
gerations

gerations of the mountain had till then deceived. Probably, when he perceived with his own eyes, that this mountain delivered Toulon to the english, and that he must become either the instrument or the victim of this execrable machiavelianism, he had recourse to suicide: or perhaps he would not hold his tongue, and was killed to prevent noise. The english, however, masters of Toulon, kept it as long as the defection of Bourdeaux and the siege of Lyons continued. Had they given up Toulon too early, the troops that besieged it, composed almost entirely of anti-jacobins before the faction had time to work upon them, would have declared for Lyons, instead of going to fight against it. Lyons at length fell. Still the jacobins must have time to massacre the best of the republicans, always *convicté* of royalism; and to achieve by famine the conquest of Bourdeaux, where the worthiest citizens were to be treated as those of Lyons, Marseilles, Paris, and every where else*. This done, the english kept their promise; and it was their interest to keep it: for it must be remembered, the mountaineers, generally detested, carried the day, on the 31st of may, against men beloved, esteemed, and very popular, I will not say throughout Paris, but throughout all France. To disarm the general indignation, to frighten the weak, to gain the wavering, to lead the multitude who reason not upon events, it was necessary, that the combined powers should consent to suspend their successes, and even sub-

* This justice must be done Tallien, that he prevented much mischief after the taking of Bourdeaux. Had it not been for him, this city would have been treated with the same barbarity as Lyons.

mit to defeat, at the time when their agents were become the tyrants of the representative body, and had the whole government at their disposal. For the many, who are always led by appearances, would say: "when Pethion, Briffot, Guadet, and their colleagues were in the convention, we were frequently beaten by the enemy; now, when they are no longer there, and Robespierre, Barrere, Marat, Collot, and the rest, have alone the management of affairs, we are every where successful: the former therefore must have been leagued with the combined powers, and the latter are our real defenders.

Thus it was the interest of the english to keep their promise, *not to put a sufficient garrison in Toulon*, and to permit it to be retaken: and when the english nation with astonishment demanded the motives, that could determine it's generals to lose Toulon, Pitt answered, that *sound policy required it*. The same *sound policy*, much above the same time, granted the victories of Dunkirk and Maubeuge to pretended republican generals, under the war ministry of the first clerk *Vincent*, the accuser of the unfortunate *Custine*. The same *sound policy* suddenly struck motionless the victorious army of Cobourg, which, having cut to pieces all the garrison of Cambrai, might have rendered itself master of the place; yet remained a quiet spectator of the civil war now begun, fully resolved to do nothing, if the mountain should remain triumphant, but to rush on like a torrent, should the republicans prove victorious. In fine, it was the same *sound policy*, which permitted *Hoche* to retake the lines of Wissembourg; *Hoche*, now known for

for an agent of Marat, and consequently of the combined powers; that general Hoche, who was in fact a violent jacobin.

But to return to Toulon. The moment we re-entered it, Beauvais, so long before hanged, was found in prison; and this deputy, so ill treated by the enemy, who had suffered so much in the cause of liberty, and who ought to have been the idol of the day, was scarcely mentioned. According to the new scheme of employing all means to urge men's minds to every kind of exaggerated sentiment, this new deity should have been brought forward to the admiration of the parisians. Nothing of all this, however, took place: he did not even come to the solemn festival, celebrated in the capital on account of re-taking Toulon. The august representative, whom prudence, apparently, did not permit to be seen so near, demanded leave to resign. A hundred voices rose, to accuse him of treachery, in the midst of his triumphs. He contented himself with avowing, that, in fact, he had *some interviews* with a few englishmen of consequence; and all the reply he made to the heavy charges brought against him was, that he would give them an answer. The committee of public safety completely admitted all the moral and physical excuses of the representative, who was not hanged. No farther explanation was demanded from him: and his resignation was accepted. It is true, that Beauvais was ill, and even took it into his head to die, that he might be for ever freed from the trouble of answering. O then how he was talked of! Then he was the great, the divine Beauvais! I do not know whether Robespierre did

did not pantheonise him. And why not? Others have been pantheonised.

I will add one fact, known to many thousands at Paris. This is, that, about the middle of July, some true republicans at Toulon obtained proofs of a grand plot set on foot, to deliver the town and port to the English, and that ***** were at the head of the conspiracy. Unfortunately the detectors had the simplicity to send the proofs to the minister of that day, and the committee of public safety. These suppressed the documents, and took no notice of the affair. Shortly after Toulon was delivered up.

But to return. We had been three weeks with our generous friend, and began to despair of the promised embarkation, when on the 20th of September a messenger came for me. Alas! yes: he came for me alone. Hitherto I had been assured, that nothing would prevent my wife from being received on board the vessel: this sad evening we were informed, that circumstances rendered it impossible for a woman to be taken on board, without endangering us all, and the captain saw himself obliged to declare with regret, that he would take no one. What a thunder stroke to Lodoiska! I would not depart, since she could not accompany me. She was sensible such a determination must ruin us, and insisted on my going. For her part, with the assistance of our friend, she would set out immediately for Paris, and, after collecting together the wreck of our fortune, would join me at Bourdeaux; where we would remain together, if the insurrection continued, or whence we would repair to America, if the tyrants conquered.—

Great

Great God ! what vain projects ! What new perils had I not to encounter ? What pains, what fatigues, had I not to undergo ? And where should I find again thee, my Lodoiska ?

I departed : I left her—yes, I had the dreadful courage once more to leave her.—It was five in the evening, of course yet broad day, when I left the town publicly. A horse waited for me two hundred yards off: a sure friend was my guide. We had nine computed leagues, or upwards of thirty measured miles to travel; and must be in the boat, which was to convey us on board the vessel, by eleven o'clock at farthest; for the signal gun for the departure of the convoy would be fired precisely at midnight. Five miles off I should meet my dear colleagues, who were waiting for me. There I found Guadet, Buzot, and Pethion; but Barbaroux came not till long after, making us lose a full hour. However it was not midnight when we arrived at the sea side. The owners of the vessel had joined us on the road. Not satisfied with taking nothing for our passage to Bourdeaux, which however exposed them to great risk, they offered us their purses. These we refused. When we came to the inn, where they had provided a supper for us, we learnt, that the boat, which the captain was to send, had not yet appeared. We waited near half an hour to no purpose; and what augmented our apprehensions was, that adjoining the room where we supped was another, in which two men were drinking together; and one of these was no less than the governor of the little fort, that commanded the beach where we were to embark, and had a garrison of fifty men. What unlucky circumstances ! and how much

caufe

cause of alarm to our merchants, who had reckoned upon our finding the boat ready, and the governor fast asleep: one of them ran to waken some fishermen, who agreed to take us into their boat for triple pay: but then we must wait till the rising of the tide set her afloat. Here were three quarters of an hour more to lose: and to add to our embarrassment, these three quarters of an hour were to be spent close to the governor. Luckily he had already drunk too heartily to give himself any concern about his restless neighbours. We got into the fishing boat without accident; yet we had every reason to apprehend we were too late, for it was after one o'clock, and we should have been on board the vessel before twelve.

We had to row a league to double a point, where the vessel, which was to stay a little after the convoy, had been appointed to wait for us. There it was not to be found. Had we not made it wait too long? If the convoy set sail precisely at midnight, had not the captain been forced to heave up his anchor to follow it? We then resolved to coast along the whole shore of Brest road, so spacious, that the vessel we sought was but a point in it, scarcely discoverable by night. It was a long night: I had never yet passed one so cruelly tortured by impatience. The dawn was not more favourable: it exhibited to us nothing but a vast sheet of water, on which not so much as a cockboat was to be seen. Our watches, pulled out every minute, pointed to six o'clock, seven o'clock, half after seven! all our hopes were vanished. What was to become of us? Sea and land were then equally dangerous.

It

It was easy to perceive in the countenances of our merchants, that their minds were agitated by the same thoughts, and that the same despondency had seized them. For a full quarter of an hour, lying down by us in the boat, they had not taken the trouble to look at the sea. One of them, however, raised himself up negligently, and turned his head slowly round with the indifference of a man persuaded he should see nothing. Suddenly his eyes quickened, and he called out: "What ship, hoa?" "The ——" "Captain —?" "Aye, aye." He turned to us with open arms, embraced us with transport: "quick, quick: jump aboard:" said he.

With what agility the heaviest of us stepped up the side! "There is your little apartment," said the merchants, who had conducted us to the cabin: then they asked whether the convoy were far ahead. The honest scot, who commanded the vessel, told them, that the convoy had gotten under way exactly at midnight: he too had weighed, that he might not be suspected; soon he dropped astern; and in spite of his men, who were much dissatisfied with his manœuvres, he contrived to lose time: at length he was about to proceed, when he fancied he perceived a boat, towards which he made sail: a few minutes later he should have missed us. He added, that though his vessel was a fast sailer, he could not expect to join the convoy before night; and consequently was in danger of being taken by the english. "Never regard the loss of the vessel," exclaimed our generous owners, "endeavour to save these worthy men at any risk." They embraced us, stepped into the boat, and returned to Brest.

We

We pursued an opposite course, which we held on two hours, when five vessels appeared in sight, on the edge of the horizon before us, ranged in a circle. "They are english cruisers," cried the sailors. In vain the captain said, that we ought to keep on our course yet, as we were not near enough to distinguish. The crew murmured: and the mate, who had been drinking, and spoke for them, swore, that he would not run the risk of being carried to England for the sake of strange passengers. Our honest scot saw his men ready to mutiny, and tacked about.

Certainly nothing could be more unfortunate for us, than to be taken by the english. For us Great Britain would have been the land of malediction. However much against our wills we might have been carried thither, calumny would not have failed to pursue us: it would have affirmed, that we had gone thither by choice; and it would have been believed. Thus with our lives we should have lost, what was far more precious, our honour. From a vessel of that nation, therefore, we had but one resource, that of throwing ourselves into the sea, that we might not be carried to England: and this resolution was taken. But who could be certain, that the vessels in sight were enemies? Besides, were they armed? Then, too, our poor captain, encumbered with us, where could he seek an asylum? Into whatever port of France he entered, would he not find enemies as eager for his destruction, as for our's? We took care not to communicate to him these reflections, which would only have augmented his trouble: but every part of his conduct showed clearly, that he was aware of all the dangers of his perplexing situation.

After two hours sailing, we were on the point of re-entering the road, when the captain, judging that his mate's head must be a little cooled, and that the fumes of the brandy, which he blamed himself for having administered in too ample a dose, were pretty well dissipated, went upon deck, and accosted his men thus : " My lads, hear what I am going to say. I am the master of this vessel : no person on board has any right to dispute my orders. If any one here should take it into his head to do so, let him beware the consequences. Your apprehensions are ridiculous : my determination is fixed : I mean to proceed on the voyage : no words ; but obey my orders." Accordingly he directed the vessel to be put about ; and, the mate not daring to make any opposition, the order was carried into execution.

Thus we escaped the imminent peril of returning to a french port ; but could we reasonably expect to escape the enemy ? We must proceed without convoy perhaps till the next evening, for we were now twelve hours sail astern. It is true our grand fleet, lately sailed from Brest, obliged the english cruisers to keep more at a distance ; yet few days passed, without a signal being made of one or more appearing on the coast. Thus it may be presumed we were far from a state of tranquillity.

The whole of that day we proceeded very prosperously : the night gave us little uneasiness, and passed away very well : but the next morning early some vessels appeared in the horizon before us, situated nearly like those of the preceding day, only there were eight of them instead of five. Our captain took his glass,

and

and looked through it for some minutes ; when he affirmed, that they were frenchmen. The fact is, he could not yet distinguish : however he was right, and to our sorrow. When he approached nearer, he found they were indeed french ships. We were not ignorant, any more than he, that descriptions of our persons had been sent to all the captains in the french navy, with positive injunctions to search every vessel at sea, and particularly examine the passengers. Now we had fallen in with the grand fleet. Twenty-two ships of the line, and twelve or fourteen frigates, were ahead of us. Conceive our alarms at this magnificent sight ! We were obliged to run along the whole of this formidable line. Though shut up in the cabin, we were obliged to lie flat on the floor ; for if some unlucky *sans-culotte* had perceived a single passenger, he might have made a motion for *just seeing who it was* ; and then I suspect our passports would not have saved us. Besides, had we not with us that Pethion, whose face was so generally known ; and who, for fear he should not be sufficiently distinguishable, had thought fit to have gray hair, and a gray beard, before he was forty years old ? Our brave captain, however, remained upon deck, with a firm air, and a lie ready for the first speaking trumpet, that should hail him. No one spoke a word to us, and we got quit for the fright.

For some hours at least we were eased of all fear of the english. Every thing went on well throughout the day ; but in the evening, the grand fleet remaining in it's station, far astern, and out of sight, we discovered some vessels ahead. The captain again had recourse to his glass ; the consequence of which we knew before-
hand :

hand: in fact, he did not fail to assert, that they were french merchantmen. It was not long, however, before he perceived, that one of these pretended merchantmen approached us fast, and had a tier of guns. Still he continued to wear an appearance of unconcern to his crew, but he whispered us, " I am playing a desperate game: if this be not our convoy, tomorrow I shall see England."

It was our convoy: yet the danger, though less, was sufficiently great. The ship, which we were now very near, proved to be one of the two frigates, which had the fleet under their protection. The captain had lain to for us, and as soon as we were within hail, we received from a speaking-trumpet the alarming interro-
gation, " Whence came you?" " From Brest;" an-
swered the captain with firmness. This produced the ominous remark of " You are a long way astern." To which the captain replied: " We have made as much sail as we could." " Your vessel is a very bad sailer, then;" was retorted not very civilly. In answer to this nothing was said. At length the thundering question came: " *Have you any passengers aboard?*" Our hearty scot made the air ring with a bold " No." On this the frigate's boat was hoisted out. It was now clear our unlucky vessel was going to be searched, and we trembled for the captain. For our parts, resigned to the event, we threw into the water every paper, that could have involved our friends in trouble, and cocked our pistols.

The boat required not these melancholy prepara-
tions: it came merely to fetch a hawser for the
frigate to take us in tow, till we had come up with

the convoy: and it was not one of the least whimsical adventures of this voyage, to see ourselves thus protected by a vessel, which was particularly prepared for our destruction.

The night following it blew hard: at day-break it was quite a gale of wind. Our crew were desirous of following the example of some merchantmen, who put into Rochelle; and their remonstrances assumed a strong aspect of mutiny: but the firmness of our captain, backed by four hundred livres in assignats, which we distributed amongst the men, extricated us from this new danger. It is true, that sometimes the ocean yawned as if it would swallow us up every moment: but all it's waves together were less formidable to us, than that senseless mob, which would have stupidly hurried us to the scaffold, on an ungrateful land.

At noon the gale abated. Whatever our captain could do, his vessel sailed better than any other in the fleet. The commodore frequently made him a signal to slacken sail; which he as often did, and still he sailed too fast. This circumstance made him uneasy: there was room to apprehend the commodore might have some suspicions, if he should notice, that the vessel now always taking the lead of the convoy was the same, which had been found at night so far astern. Then too we had certain danger to run at the entrance of the river Bourdeaux, where a general examination would be made by the convoy. We arrived at five in the evening. The commodore let all the vessels pass by him, and hailed each as it passed. Our captain was one of the first: the alarming question was repeated:

repeated: "Have you any passengers aboard?" He answered as in the evening, with a voice not less firm, and with equal success.

In the mean time the tide setting in had carried us up the river about twenty miles, when we were obliged to come to an anchor, as it began to ebb. Our captain took care to place his vessel at some distance from any other: and as soon as the ebb had done, he had hoisted out what he called his jolly-boat. It was one of the smallest and slightest boats that ever a parisian beheld upon the Seine. Twelve of us went into it, with the captain, and four sailors to row. I need not say the boat was full: it was so to such a degree, that we could scarcely stir in it without rashness. It must be noticed, that this river is a kind of sea, for it is above four miles wide. Farther up it was still worse. The same body of water was confined in a channel half this width; and its course, far more rapid, was rendered difficult by sandbanks, with which our captain was by no means well acquainted. The gunwale of the boat was scarcely two inches above the water's edge, not unfrequently the waves washed over it, and from time to time the least movement put us in danger of going to the bottom. Yet this was the least of our perils.

We took this step to escape the last examination of our convoy, and above all to avoid fort *Blaye*. Unhappily it was already day. The man that had the watch on board the commodore saw us, and hailed us; though only to tell us, not to come too near. Probably he imagined, as we hoped he would, that such a little boat deserved no farther notice. At fort *Blaye* we were still more fortunate: not a single word was said. When we

reached *Bec-d'Ambez* we landed. At length we were in the department of *Gironde*; and there believing ourselves, not merely in safety, but in a situation to combat the enemies of our country, we were ready to kiss the land of deliverance. Alas, unhappy man! thy joys are often as foolishly misplaced as thy sorrows!

The captain went on to *Bourdeaux*. We clubbed to make him up the sum of two thousand livres [83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*], which he accepted. We intended to add to this a thousand crowns, which we reckoned ourselves secure of borrowing with ease in the town, where he would probably arrive not more than four and twenty hours before us. I know not whether the richest of us had two hundred francs [8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] left in his purse.

The house at which we stopped belonged to a relation of *Guadet*. No one was there to receive us. We went therefore to a neighbouring inn, where *Guadet*, with his usual openness, made no scruple of telling his name; so that it was not difficult to guess who we were all. This imprudence was the chief cause of all the dangers, which almost immediately assailed us. Thence our pursuers soon traced us, and shortly we had not a moment's repose.

When the keys of the house were brought, we retired thither to converse on our situation at our ease. We had been told at the inn strange things, which *Guadet* affirmed to be impossible; that the maratists had gained the upper hand at *Bourdeaux*; that the municipality and department had fled; and that the representatives of the people were coming in force. Whether these rumours were true or false, we thought it not adviseable

iseable to venture ourselves all in the town, before we had inquired concerning them. Guadet, who knew every street in it, offered to go thither, and would take Pethion with him.

The next day they returned, thinking themselves happy to have entered without being seen, and to have come out without being apprehended. All that had been told us was true. There, as in other places, the honest men were ruined through their own want of energy. Not five days before, the good and brave youth of Bourdeaux, assembled in arms, had gone to the department, to request permission to disarm the section Franklin, which was the arsenal of the factious. Instead of availing themselves of this movement, the administrators answered, that they must wait with patience, employ none but gentle means, and so forth; and the next day the section Franklin turned every thing upside down in Bourdeaux. Indeed the administrators had committed fault upon fault. In the zenith of their power, they had quietly suffered the commissioners of the mountain, posted twenty miles off, to take possession of the castle of Trompette, and all it's ammunition, stores, and provision, by four or five men bearing a decree. In the same manner, they had without any opposition permitted the mountaineers to seize fort Blaye, dismiss the two battalions of men of Bourdeaux posted there, and substitute in their room two revolutionary battalions; which is saying every thing. Displaying such feebleness, they must inevitably sink under their active opponents.

At this period, all the most sincere, most enlightened, most courageous patriots in Bourdeaux were hourly

conveying to prison. So general was the dread, that at nine o'clock, Guadet and Pethion were so far from being able to find a man, who would entertain them for the night, that they could with difficulty procure one, who would venture to walk before them to conduct them out of the city.

Still, therefore, we could think of nothing but our personal safety. Guadet set off for St. Emillion, the place of his birth. There, beside relations, he had many friends, those friends of infancy, of whom we think ourselves sure, till adversity has put them to the trial. He could not fail of procuring an asylum for each; but he would not send for us, till every thing was ready; for it was necessary, that we should come as secretly as possible. After his departure, we remained shut up in the house of his relation. The neighbouring inn-keeper, a fly fellow, of whom we were not yet sufficiently mistrustful, was very inquisitive to discover what was become of us. He was told that we had re-embarked: yet the very same evening he came prying about the house, but fortunately we had fastened all the window-shutters. However, he was not long our dupe; as on the second day we heard it was whispered about, that we were concealed in the neighbourhood of Rec d'Ambez.

The evening of this second day Guadet had purposed to return. We saw nothing of him, and this rendered us the more uneasy. Every moment our present situation became more dangerous. We were informed, that the master of the inn, a hired maratist, had just made a journey to Bourdeaux, and was returned with some new faces; and that there was a considerable stir in the house,

house, with whisperings, and secret conferences. It was prudent in us to make some preparations for defence; we barricaded our doors and windows, and divided our weapons, which consisted of fourteen pistols, five sabres, and one single musket. We were in all six of us: for I ought to have said before, that, when we got aboard the vessel, we found there *Valady*, and one of his friends, who was not a deputy: the same, who, being tall, and having light hair, gave occasion to the maratists in Gironde, whilst they knew us only by vague report, to spread abroad, that Wimpfen was with us. Assuredly he neither was, nor could be. Six men only, badly armed, but firmly resolved to die on the spot, composed this formidable garrison, for the attack of which we shall find nothing less than artillery was prepared. Of this garrison two thirds lay down in their cloaths: the other third, that is to say, Barbaroux and myself, kept watch all night. But the enemy, who would not march against us except in force, had not yet collected a sufficient number of troops. Had a hundred and fifty fusileers, whom a simple requisition to the national guards of the neighbourhood would have collected in less than two hours, been deemed sufficient, we should not have been taken alive, but our deaths would have been inevitable. Luckily it was resolved to attack us with an army capable of carrying on a regular siege; and nothing appeared that night.

At the begining of the night following came a messenger from Guadet. He had not found in his family more than one person, who would venture to give us an asylum, and he could receive only two. He *hoped* the next day to be able to dispose of two more, for whom

he would then send; and so on, to the last. We had now only to decide, who should be the two elect, to follow him, who was come to save them. We looked at each other in silence. Barbaroux, always worthy of himself, was the first who spoke. "We are well assured" said he, "that our danger is here imminent. Which of us all could think of saving himself, and not be detained by the reflection, that to-morrow, perhaps, they, whom he left behind, would be no more? For my part, I will not abandon the companions of my labours, and of my glory. If there be an asylum only for two: let us all stay: let us die together. But would Guadet sent for two only, if he knew our situation? Would he not feel, that the object of most importance is to enable us to escape hence? Some person offers an asylum for two of us: very well: cannot six of us be disposed of for four or five days, if need be, in a room prepared for two? Let us depart."

He was yet speaking, when a person came to inform us, that there was a great bustle, and a considerable number of people, in the neighbouring inn. Some thirty officers had just arrived. The landlord had said, that these gentlemen belonged to a battalion of the revolutionary army, which was to pass this way, in it's route to Bourdeaux. In the mean time, several detachments of national guards were observed already in the neighbourhood, and even a few brigades of gendarmes.

This put an end to all deliberation. Our guide descended the steps: we followed him in silence. We made a circuit to reach a boat waiting for us on the Garonne, about half a mile off: and it appears, that we were

were not arrived at the river's side, ere four hundred brave fellows, armed cap-à-piè, came with two pieces of ordnance against a country house, where they expected to meet with eight or ten victims,

Such was the glorious expedition of Bec-d'Ambez, where the *revolutionaries* signalized equally their courage, and their address ; and for which B—, I think it was, paid such great honour to his worthy satellites, in the pompous account of it he transmitted to the convention ; in which he said, in express words, that, “ Such was the activity of the *sans-culottes*, they had surrounded the house, and found — our beds warm !”

Whilst these gentlemen, with sword in hand, colours flying, and matches lighted, amused themselves with searching our beds, we, with much less noise, were employing our time far better. We arrived at St. Emilion, after having crossed a second river, the Dordogne, before Libourne, where fortunately the sentry was still more difficult to awake than the ferryman, whom we were three quarters of an hour before we could rouse.

The next day a person came to inform us, how narrowly we had escaped at St. Ambez ; and that B—, enraged at the loss of such an excellent opportunity, and no doubt acquainted by the ferryman, that we had crossed the Dordogne, had just made a requisition of one of his revolutionary battalions, and in the mean time advanced in pursuit of us at the head of fifty horse. Again it was necessary to flee. We went a few gun-shots distance, and hid ourselves in a quarry, where there were no workmen that day, it fortunately being Sunday. We were soon joined by Guadet and Salle, who

who had been our precursors in Gironde, yet found no asylum.

We waited for an honest fellow, who had wandered about the neighbourhood since morning, endeavouring to procure us a retreat. At night he came to inform us, that not a single person had the courage to admit us into his house. Poor Guadet was confounded. How many times had he protested, that every good and generous sentiment, if banished from all the rest of France, would take refuge in Gironde ! how cruelly had he been deceived by false friends, and unworthy relations ! Much were we to be pitied ; but he far more than we.

What, however, was to be done ? Since we had been traced, and were accurately described, it was no longer proper for us to proceed in company. Had we been, as in Finisterre, twelve more in number, and provided with twenty good muskets, the case would have been somewhat different ; but we were only eight, and armed only with pistols. We had nothing to hope from force ; our sole reliance must be on address : and of all the precautions to be taken, that of separating appeared to be the first. My Lodoiska ought to be at Paris : towards Paris, therefore, I talked of proceeding. If I had the incredible happiness of getting thither, I might furnish an asylum for two or three of the rest. Thus I was silly enough to imagine, that I could depend on my friends, with the example of Guadet before my eyes ! My dear Barbaroux declared, that he would share my fate. Valady and his friend joined with him. Thus we were four. Pethion and Buzot set off, to wander

wander I know not whither. Salle and Guadet would go towards Landes. Alas! for what purpose? Merely to gain time. The horrible triumphs of the mountain were so inconceivable, that it appeared impossible they could continue for a fortnight.

We embraced each other with full hearts; and parted. Barbaroux intended to pass for a professor of mineralogy, a science with which he was well acquainted; and we for merchants, travelling with him, with a view to engage in the working of any mines, that he might discover. But merchants on foot, and travelling by night! Three hundred miles of ground to be passed over by the help of this poor fiction! Barbaroux so well known, and so remarkable! It was indeed a desperate project: the protecting hand of Providence shut the door of it against us. After walking four hours, we discovered, that we had lost our way. A parsonage house was near. "We must knock at the door;" said Barbaroux. "Yes," answered I, who thought of nothing but Paris; to inquire our way." "Ah!" replied he, "could we but obtain something more!"

A worthy clergyman came to open the door to us. We professed ourselves to be travellers, who had lost our way. "Confess," said he, "that you are good men suffering persecution, and under that title accept the accommodations of my house for four and twenty hours; would I could welcome more frequently, and for a longer term, some of the innocent victims of unjust pursuit!"

In what words shall I relate how much we were affected by this reception! It demanded entire confidence, and it obtained it. At the name of Barbaroux, and

and at mine, the good man rushed into our arms, and shed over us tears of joy. We, too, melted into tears. Providence had led us, as it were, by the hand to one of those rare mortals, with whom Guadet had imagined his department filled.

The next morning he told us, that we might remain two or three days longer without risk ; and that he would endeavour, the mean while, to find us some safe retreat. At the expiration of this term, he suffered only Valady's friend to depart, who thought he could easily reach the environs of Perigueux, where he had a relation, who could not fail of receiving him, and who no doubt would send for Valady. My thoughts were still bent on Paris ; and I would fain have accompanied him, who was going forty miles nearer to it. The parson dissuaded me : Barbaroux fell at my knees to prevent me. O Lodoiska, to them thou owest the preservation of thy husband : for we soon after heard, that he, whom I would have accompanied, was quickly arrested.

Our generous host kept us yet two days, though it began to be rumoured in the village, that somebody was concealed at the parson's. At length he conducted us to the house of a little farmer, who gave us a kind reception ; but his wife was alarmed, at least such was the reason he gave the next day, when he told us we must not think of staying with him. Our good parson came for us, and, unable to do better, led us to a hayloft over a stable, adjoining to a farm house, in which were sixteen persons. Two of these only were in the secret ; the rest were going backwards and forwards to the stable all the day, and sometimes mounted the ladder to look at the hay, in which each of us had made himself a hole ; and

and in these holes we were forced to remain, buried even over our very heads. The hay was new, and consequently heated: the loft was so full, that it left scarcely a space two feet high for the air; and this was admitted only through a very small window. To increase our sufferings, the weather, though in the month of October, was hot and dry, and our two confidants were sent suddenly to a distance on some business, without being able to give us notice of it. Their absence continued three days. For eight and forty hours we were totally destitute of the coarse fare and small wine, they were accustomed to convey to us by stealth. The extreme lassitude, dreadful head-ach, frequent faintings, burning thirst, and general agony, we experienced, are indescribable. Once my fortitude failed, and the courage of Babaroux deserted him. I had taken hold of one of my pistols, and looked at him with a languid smile: he imitated my example. We were both silent; but with our eyes we took fatal counsel together: one of my hands fell on his: he pressed it with a sort of fury, similar to that which inspired me. The moment of despair was come: the signal of death was on the point of being given. Attentive to our motions, Valady cried "Barbaroux! you have yet a mother! Louvet! think of Lodoiska!" The sudden revolution produced by these words is inconceivable. Our fury subsided into tenderness: our weapons dropped from our hands: our enfeebled bodies sunk down: we mingled our tears together.

But this sudden change produced another. "Lodoiska expects me:" exclaimed I: "What am I doing here? Why do I here submit to so many humili-

tions, sufferings, and dangers ? If it be indeed for her, remaining here will not end them. It is on the road to Paris I ought to encounter perils, and endure hardships. This very evening will I be on that road." That very evening ! Madman ! In one of our recent nocturnal excursions, I had fallen into a ditch, which I did not perceive : by this fall the tendons of my ham had been considerably injured. During our six days confinement, the absolute inaction to which we were reduced, the heat of the hay in which we were confined, anxiety, and wearisomeness, had combined to increase the misfortune : on attempting to lift up my leg, it gave me severe pain ; and my ham was become so rigid, as to be altogether incapable of flexion. Thanks to thee, Providence ! by whom I was thus compelled to remain.

The next night, at ten o'clock, when every one in the farm seemed asleep, except the faithful dog, whose barking allowed us no rest ; we thought we heard round the house a noise, like that of several men walking softly and speaking low : a few minutes after we saw a great light in the stable, where none had ever been perceived before : at first some voices were heard in it of persons speaking very cautiously ; then a profound silence followed : presently the sound recommenced without ; and at last we heard some one ascending our ladder. Were we discovered ? Was the stable surrounded ? We seized our weapons.

A man, without quitting the ladder, or coming near us, cried, "gentlemen come down." It was one of our confidants belonging to the farm : but he spoke not in his usual tone, his voice was altered, hoarse, and surly. This circumstance alarmed us more than any thing else. " What ? come down ?" said I to him.—" Yes, come down."—

down."—" And Why?"—" Because you must."—" But why?"—" Somebody wants you."—" Who?"—" The parson's kinsman."—" If it be the kinsman of the parson, why does he not make his appearance?" Here the man muttered out I know not what silly reason, and added with a brutal and threatening voice, " After all, blackguards [f—], you must come down."

This had a very threatening aspect. The imagination works quickly. I instantly persuaded myself, that some person had discovered and informed against us; that people had been sent to search the house; and that they had threatened the poor fellow to set fire to his hayloft, if he did not make us come down. Barbaroux had, no doubt, the same thought, for he whispered me, " They shall not catch me alive :" and Valady, whose courage was so depressed by fatigue and an incipient disease, that twenty times in the day he had confessed himself seized with panic fears, and mortal anxiety at the idea of death, so that he could never have the resolution to put an end to his own existence; now imagining the fatal hour arrived, said faintly to us, " Alas ! then, we must die !" and perceiving our preparations, he added, taking us by the hand, " O my friends ! are you going to leave me ?" For my part, never did I think my death so near, in any of the most critical junctures of my proscription, except once afterwards at the gates of Orleans.

" Citizen," said I to the man, with a firm voice, " we are far from desiring to involve you in any trouble : yet do not think to draw us into any snare : we certainly will not come down, till the kinsman of the

parson makes his appearance, or you frankly tell us what is your purpose."

Forgive me reader, if I have made you feel any of the apprehensions, with which our minds were tortured. Forgive me, for it was nothing: nothing save a little pusillanimity in him, who was sent by our good friend the parson, and the cruel necessity of recommencing our travels. At length the parson's kinsman appeared. He had restrained from entering, for fear of being perceived by some one belonging to the farm. It seems one of the farmer's men, having heard some noise in the hayloft, had hinted his suspicions; so that in the course of another day it was probable we might be discovered by a man, from whom we had every thing to apprehend. Our two confidants, alarmed at this, had gone to tell the clergyman, that he must take us away immediately. The information arrived so late, he knew not how to dispose of us. With him we should run more hazard than any where; as information had just been given, that he had some one concealed in his house. Instantly he ran to seek out some hiding place for us: and in the mean time, to set the farmer at rest, who was thoroughly frightened, it was necessary to quit the hayloft, and pass the night how we could.

O God! if it were not thy will, that we should be sacrificed, at least it was, that we should undergo severe trials. We were driven from the hay-loft the very moment when as an abode it became supportable, and as a shelter necessary. That evening the weather had changed. The violence of the storm was a little abated: the thunder was heard no longer, but the rain

poured

poured down incessantly, and the wind blew cold from the south. To add to my difficulties, I could only drag myself over the clayey ground upon one leg and a walking stick. Our guide conducted us to a little wood; and there left us to get thoroughly wet and benumbed at our leisure.

The badness of the weather interrupted not the exertions of our generous parson. A little before day he came himself to inform us, that all his researches had been in vain; and as he saw it was impossible for us, in the place where we were, not to be discovered before the next night, he would take us to his own house, whatever might be the risk. This offer we would not accept, till we heard, that from his cock-loft, into which we were to be put, we might easily slide down into a back yard by means of a rope fixed to the window, and thence escape over a little wall into the fields, at the first appearance of any suspicious object approaching the house, for which one of us would be constantly on the watch.—Worthy man! He appeared so happy to receive us again!

I now rejoiced at the circumstance, which against my will had obliged me not to bring my wife into so many severe fatigues, and ever-renewing dangers. If to encounter them I found my own constitution too weak, surely under them her's must have sunk. I should have had the grief, to see her expire in my arms, before I died. Yet we murmured against heaven, when it ordained our separation. O providence, how profound are thy ways! how vain are the desires of man!

In the mean time we had learnt, that Guadet and Salle, after having knocked to no purpose at the doors

of fifty friends, had found every kind of assistance and shelter in the house of a woman, as compassionate, generous, and intrepid, as all those beings, nevertheless called men, had shown themselves cowardly, selfish, and inhuman. From the affecting description given us of what that angel of heaven had done, there appeared no need of asking her for an asylum, if it were possible for her to grant it. It would be sufficient to inform her of our situation. A messenger was sent to her, and quickly returned with her answer : "Let them come all three." She only recommended to us, not to come till midnight, and to neglect no precaution, to avoid being seen. Our safety with her depended chiefly on our punctuality in complying with these conditions.

On our way we stopped at the house of a clergyman, a friend of him we had left. He expected us at supper. The reader will forgive these details : it was so long since we had known what it was to sup ! Then the repast itself was nothing, compared with the kind attentions, by which it was preceded. Warm water was in readiness, to wash our feet ; a good fire, to dry us ; all the apparatus of the toilet, to remove our long beards, and restore our hair to some order ; clean linen, to shift us ; all followed by food light of digestion, and cordial wine poured out by a charming niece. It was really a niece ; for I cannot be supposed here to think of a jest. I mention her, that some idea may be formed of the effect produced on us, by these frequent and sudden transitions from a situation painful and tardy, to a situation rapid and delightful ; and of the contrast between this kind and charming girl, loading us with civilities, and those insensible, gloomy, or threatening visages, which

which were employed in laying snares for us, or coolly beheld us falling into them. At the house of this good clergyman, we felt our lot similar to that of those brave knights errant, who, just having encountered with monsters, on a sudden find themselves in some enchanted pavilion, served by attendant fairies.

At midnight we arrived at the house of another fairy. There, with a thousand attentions not less affecting, we were to find courage, constancy, and devotion to our service without bounds. Our two friends were lodged thirty feet under ground ; and the entrance to their subterraneous abode, in itself not a little dangerous, was so concealed, that it was impossible to discover it. Spacious as was the cavern, the continued residence of five men in it might spoil the air, which was not easily renewable. In another part of the house, therefore, we formed a second strong hold, more salubrious, almost as secure, and almost as difficult to be discovered. A few days after, Buzot and Pethion sent us word, that, having changed their retreat *seven times within a fortnight*, they were at length reduced to the last extremity.—“ Let them both come hither !” cried the astonishing woman. Let it be remembered, too, that scarce a day passed without her being threatened with a general search ; and she was so strongly suspected of being virtuous, that there was often talk of putting her in prison. Observe, also, that every day some head or other fell under the guillotine, and the banditti committed horrible excesses. Hourly were they heard to swear, that they would burn alive, in their own houses, any persons, who should be found to conceal us. They even talked of setting on fire whole towns. “ My

God ! Let the inquisitors come !” she would say to us, gaily and unmoved, “ provided you do not take upon you to receive them : I am only afraid of their arresting me ; and then what would become of you ?”

Our two friends came, and retired into the cave. Thus we were seven in all ; and the difficulty was to procure us food. Provision was scarce in the department : our hostess could procure but a pound of bread a day, but there were potatoes and kidney beans in the cockloft. To save breakfast, we rose not till noon. A dish of soup made with pulse formed the whole of our dinner. When night came, we quietly left our abode, and joined her. Our supper consisted sometimes of a morsel of beef, with difficulty procured from the market ; at others of a dish of poultry from the yard, which could not long hold out ; with a few eggs, a few vegetables, and a little milk ; of which she could never be prevailed to take much, that more might be left for us. She was in the midst of us like a mother surrounded with her children, for whom she was sacrificing herself. Thus we remained a whole month, in spite of the persecutions of an *intimate friend* of Guadet ; who, knowing we were there, omitted nothing to drive us away ; and whose cowardly apprehensions at length so disturbed his brain, that he was going to blow out his brains for fear of dying. I cannot recite all the lies, projects, threats, and daftardly manœuvres of every kind, by which he at length gained his purpose, without danger of betraying our astonishing friend : and could I, the tale would be too disgusting.

It is not too late to inform the reader, that, on my arrival in Gironde, I had written to Lodoiska to inform her,

her, without describing all the danger of my situation, that, instead of waiting for her, I should use every possible endeavour to come to her. After that, while at the worthy clergyman's, every avenue to my native city appearing shut against me, I wrote to my wife a second letter, in which I requested her to come and settle at Bourdeaux. A friend had taken upon him to copy this letter, and put it into the post-office ; but six weeks having elapsed, without any answer to it being received, it was plain, either that it had not been sent, or that it had not reached her. This rendered my desire of braving every danger, to reach Paris, still more ardent.

The critical moment arrived. The fatal day, the day of a long, perhaps eternal, separation, between men for ever closely united by all that is most respectable in the tenderest friendship, the purest virtue, and righteous calamity, came. We quitted our retreat, no less secure than endeared to us, by the treatment we had received, and separated into two parties, which soon again divided. Barbaroux, who had gone through almost all the same dangers as myself, since we left Caen, now went with Buzot and Pethion, though as much grieved at quitting me, as I was at losing him. They went some miles off, towards the sea side, to seek a doubtful asylum. With what sorrow did we not bid each other adieu ! Poor Buzot ! he concealed at the bottom of his heart deep afflictions, with which I alone was acquainted, and which I must never reveal. Pethion, the immovable Pethion, how was he changed ! How altered were the serenity of his countenance, and the tranquillity of his mind, since the enslavement of his country was no longer doubtful, since we heard of

the imprisonment of the seventy-five, and the punishment of our friends! And my dear Barbaroux, how much did he not suffer! Never shall I forget his last words: "Wherever you find my mother, endeavour to supply to her the place of a son: I vow to you, that I shall never enjoy any thing, which I will not share with your wife, if ever we chance to meet."

One amongst us endeavoured in vain to conceal the affliction she felt: this was our generous protectress. She wept, she bemoaned the necessity, which compelled her no longer to expose herself for us. "Cruel men," said she, speaking of her relations; "What violence they do my inclinations! I will never forgive them, if any one of you——" She could not finish the sentence: but her presentiment was too well founded: one of us was soon to perish.

At one o'clock in the morning we set out; Guadet, Salle, I, and Valady, from whom we were almost immediately to part. We went with him a few hundred yards, on the road to a house where he had a relation, on whose humanity he placed some reliance. What a look did he give us, when we quitted him! Never shall I lose the sad remembrance of it: he had death in his eyes.

I remained, then, with Salle and Guadet, whom I chose to join, because the place, towards which they were going the next day, was twelve miles off, on the road to Perigueux, and I felt a secret pleasure, in getting a little nearer to Paris. To reach this place, however, it was necessary to make a circuit round Libourne, where we should have run too great risk. To accomplish this, we must travel through an intricate by-road,

to the end of which we were to be guided the next night, by a friend of Guadet, whom a sure confidant would bring us. In the mean time we must find a place to pass the remainder of the present night, and all the following day. For this purpose we proceeded towards a town at some distance, in the neighbourhood of which were a number of caverns. Guadet knew them all. The most secure of them, on account of its extent, he had designated to our confidant, as the place of rendezvous. On our arrival, we found the entrance walled up. Those of fifty others remained open: but how would our confidant discover the next night which of them we had chosen? It was necessary to acquaint him with the circumstance: Guadet and I undertook the task, not unattended with risk. We had a village to traverse, and there were some gendarmes lodged at the house of our confidant: we must awake him, without rousing these spies; and this we accomplished.

Returned to our grotto, in vain we sought repose. The cold and the damp defied sleep. At ten in the morning, and not before, the thick darkness that surrounded us began to clear away a little: retired to the most obscure extremity, we could distinguish what passed at the mouth of the cavern, without our being perceived. Some animals approached, scented us, and withdrew: of all animals the most savage too came; but happily they scented us not. These were men: they stopped but a moment to satisfy wants, the smell as well as the sight of which incommode us not a little. Woe had betided us, if one of these peasants, more delicate or more modest than the rest, had taken it into his head to retire to the further end of the grotto. I

say, woe had betided us: for we could never have resolved, for our own security, to spill the blood of a man, of whose ill intentions towards us we could not be sure. Had such a circumstance happened, we had resolved, to present our pistols to the poor fellow, and keep him prisoner, till we quitted our retreat: yet even then he might quickly inform against us, and effect our ruin. Of this we were sufficiently aware: but we had resolved to run the risk: for though we might still experience the ingratitude of man, we would not stain our hands with innocent blood.

It is necessary to have been proscribed, to know how difficult and irksome it is, to have at every moment of the day your steps to measure, your breath to fetch gently, a sneeze to stifle, a laugh, an exclamation, nay the least noise, to suppress. Without having experienced it, no one can possibly conceive, how painful, tormenting, and hazardous, this restraint, in appearance so little, becomes by continuance. In our situation it was an unavoidable evil: and even before we had felt the pulse of Gironde, I had particularly exercised myself in it, with my Lodoiska, when with our worthy original of Finisterre; who, for our diversion and his own, kept us concealed in a closet, with a member of the club at our side, and a gendarme over our heads. An unlucky woman came into the grotto, to put our dexterity in these points to the trial. In the first place, being a little more modest, she came farther in: in the next place, being troubled apparently with an obstinate tenesmus, she made repeated exertions in vain; so that her stay was long: lastly, as she was going out, she lost her footing on the moist and slippery ground.

Stretched

Stretched at her length on the greasy pavement, the poor old woman found herself unable to rise. Long she attempted it, backing her efforts with a little soliloquy, which we might have thought diverting in any other situation: yet nothing would do; and she cried out for assistance. This soon brought to the place several men, who cracked their jokes upon her, long enough, and near enough, to give us considerable uneasiness. All things, however, must have an end; so at length they helped the old woman up, and went away.

At the close of the day, our confidant came to inform us, that Guadet's friend could not, that is to say, *dared not*, travel with us the space of four miles. Thus Guadet was obliged to endeavour to pick out the road, which he formerly knew, though he was never well acquainted with it. This was in itself a difficult task. Added to this, the weather was terrible; the rain poured down, and, after the bad night we had passed, threatened us with one still worse; but necessity, inexorable necessity, impelled us on. I found my resolution strong: repeated moderate exercise in our last habitation had cured my leg; and my ham recovered its former suppleness. Besides, we were travelling towards Paris: thus I felt my wonted vigour revived, and even some satisfaction of mind.

We departed: it was in the night of the 14th, or 15th of November, 1793: O God, thou markedst it with too severe trials, for it ever to escape my remembrance.

Yet, whither were we going? Twelve miles farther, I have said. Twelve miles! were we certain then of a welcome reception? At least Guadet doubted it not: and

and for this once I too was of opinion, that we could have nothing to apprehend. The family of the person, to whom he was going to introduce us, had long been connected with his; and Guadet himself had extricated her, for I must confess it was a woman, from a criminal prosecution, which deeply endangered her honour, and that of her relations. Since this circumstance, even long before the revolution, she had a hundred times assured him of her gratitude, and a thousand times offered him her services. Besides, we asked an asylum only for four or five days, after which our generous friend meant to receive us again, whatever might be said to her.

At first, what we had feared, actually happened. We lost our way: and so unfortunately, that, though we set off at seven o'clock, it was midnight before we had accomplished our four miles of the by-road, after passing through roads so bad, that the mud, without any exaggeration, was half leg deep. I had on this occasion to regret the loss of a strong sword-cane, on which I was obliged to lean so frequently, and sometimes with such violence, that at length it broke. Our fatigue may easily be imagined; and still we had eight miles to walk. It was four in the morning, when we arrived at the end of our journey, covered with mud, wet to the skin, and exhausted with fatigue.

Guadet went and knocked at the door: in about half an hour it was opened a little way. A servant, who had seen him a hundred times, would not know him. On telling his name, the servant said, he would acquaint his mistress. In another half hour, his mistress sent word, that it was impossible for her to comply with

with his request, as there was a committee of superintendance in the village; she seemed not to know that in every village there was a committee of superintendance. Guadet persisted, and demanded admission, for himself alone, in the first instance, if madam desired it, that he might at least speak to her for a moment. Madam answered, that this too was impossible, and the door was shut.

We had stood an hour under some trees, so loaded with water, that perhaps they poured on us more than they kept off. When I reached the place the sweat trickled off my face, and down my body, in mingled streams with the rain. Ever since we had stood still, the south wind, at first apparently refreshing, but soon extremely sharp, had been blowing on us. Our garments drenched with water were like ice: for my part, I was freezing with the cold: my teeth chattered in my head.

Guadet, in despair, at length came to give us an account of his inconceivable reception. I scarcely heard what he said. A terrible revolution took place in me: my perspiration was completely stopped; a cool shivering seized me; I dropped senseless on the ground. My friends set me on my feet, and endeavoured to support me against a tree: but my weakness was so great, that even thus I could not stand; so that they were obliged to let me lie on the ground, that is to say in the water. Guadet ran to knock again at the door; it was not opened: he was forced to speak through the key-hole. "A room and a fire," said he, "only for a couple of hours: one of my friends is taken ill." This message was conveyed to madam, who

who returned for answer, it was *impossible*. "At least give me a little vinegar and a glass of water :" cried my poor friend. Even that, too, madam answered, was *impossible*.

Wretch ! her name was — I ought ! I ought to disclose her name ! to hold her up to the admiration of the assassins that now disgrace France. But no : I will leave her to her own remorse, and may avenging justice inflict on her no other chastisement ! may she not meet, in the first agonies that await her, some monster of humanity, to refuse her a little fire, and a cup of water !

I could not speak, but I could hear : I heard Guadet rail against human nature, and deplore his fate. This contributed more to revive my strength, than the most stimulating liquors could have done. I soon recovered my senses, and was inflamed with indignation. " Let us be gone," said I : " let us flee : let us flee from mankind : let us flee to the grave."

Scarcely had I raised myself, when my blood was warmed with other ideas : I heard them conversing on the means of regaining their cave ; whilst my thoughts were employed on a different project. I hide myself from such vile beings ! no : I would triumph over them, or perish in the attempt. In the mean time we reached the high-road, which was half a mile distant.

Arrived there, I said to them : " my friends, how will you be able to regain your sad retreat before day ? I am grieved to leave you in this distress : but I can give you no assistance, and my resolution is taken. I have told you a hundred times, that I think there are extremities, beyond which we ought not to drag on the burden

burden of existence. I have told you as often, that, when I found myself reduced to that point of distress, at which I think a brave man may quit life, instead of blowing out my own brains, I would take the road to Paris. I know it is a thousand to one, that I shall never arrive there: but it is my duty to make the attempt. In this way only is it allowable for me to seek death: my family, my friends whom twenty years have tried, have still this command over me. You know the wife who expects me. My friends shall learn, that, though deserted by the whole world, I have still given them this testimony of my esteem, not to despair of their fidelity, but to make one last effort to take refuge in their arms. My Lodoiska shall find, that falling my face was turned towards her. If, however, I arrive safe through a thousand perils, Guadet, tell thy cowardly friends, that I am thenceforward in safety, for still some faithful and devoted friends exist."

They held me, advised me, intreated me; yet I would not hear them. With speed I stripped myself of every thing, that could encumber me on my long journey. Stockings, handkerchief, a suit of clothes, were thrown away. My national great coat I retained; and over my hair I put a little jacobite wig, that I had in reserve, which disguised me pretty well. I pressed Guadet and Salle to my bosom: I opened my pocket-book, and divided a few assignats with the latter, who was poorer than myself: I embraced my friends once more, and we parted.

Thus I set off; and you will enjoy a spectacle worthy of some attention: you will contemplate a man alone wrestling with fortune, before a world of enemies. Yet, I mistake:

I mistake : I was not alone. Hatred of tyrants, scorn of slaves, and contempt of death, accompanied me. Thy immortal affection, thy commanding genius, *Lo-doiska*, drew me on. Above all, God of justice, unwearied providence, my every step was at one time preceded, at another followed, by thy protection, never refused to innocence.

Mont Pont, the chief town of the district, about four miles off, was a dangerous place. Prudence recommended to pass it before day. My limbs, yet benumbed, could not move very quickly. Exercise, however, soon diffused over all parts of my body that flame, which lately fired only my head and my heart. My blood, now warmed, circulated without obstacle: my perspiration returned: I walked fast; I walked a long way; I felt no fatigue. Probably that woman, by repulsing us with such inhumanity, saved me from an attack of disease. The sun was rising when I saw *Mont Pont*. It's inhabitants, to be certain, that nothing should come from *Gironde* without being thoroughly examined, had placed a sentry at the entrance of the city on that side. I saw the man on duty, resting against a wall, under a kind of pent-house, without moving: he looked as if he saw me coming, and observed me with attention. Not to create suspicion, I slackened my pace, and advanced cautiously; holding ready my wretched passport, which I meant to present him with a careless air; hoping, that he would just cast his eye on it, and say, "pass on." He said not a word: for he was asleep. The muzzle of his piece rested against his stomach, the but-end was on the ground, and barred my way. I stepped over it. To avoid interrupting the young man's

happy sleep, I continued to walk slowly, and without noise. At the end of the street I resumed my former pace: he then waked, and cried, "who goes there?" Twice he asked the question: but he might have asked it ten times, before I should have returned to answer him.

I purposed to have pushed on much farther; but I had not advanced above a mile, before I felt about my left heel an acute pain, which struck me at once like a flash of lightning. Hoping it would come to nothing, I endeavoured to walk it off: it became more acute, fixed, and extended under the sole of my foot. Probably it was an inflammatory humour, forming in consequence of my checked perspiration, which had been thrown upon my lungs at the moment when I fainted at the door of that woman, and which my late exertions had determined to the extremities. Whatever was the cause, it was not without difficulty, that I travelled another mile. At a village inn I procured a room, a good fire, and a substantial breakfast, of which I had great need.

Here I found an ink-stand, and a good pen, which to me were not less necessary. My passport was from Rennes. In Gironde, a friend of our clergyman, an equally kind and skilful penman, had added to it four different *visas*, in as many different hands: one of these purported to be from the office of the marine classes at l'Orient, another by one of the municipal officers at that town, the third from the marine at Bourdeaux, and the fourth by the new mayor of that place. They all certified, that they had *seen pass* citizen Larcher, such was my travelling name, and that I was an honest sans-culotte.

culotte. So far, was well: but I wanted a few more *vîas* since those of Bourdeaux. I knew the name of the president of the committee of superintendance at Lîbourne: this I ventured to add, with a hand not equally skilful in diguising itself: yet I succeeded tolerably; and I did well; for without this precaution I should have been arrested twenty miles farther on.

This passport, thus larded with signatures, you may suppose would answer in the villages, but for the towns it was of no use. It had too many defects for townsmen always to be duped by it. The *vîa* and seal of the district were wanting: besides, every thing that came from Bourdeaux was much suspected in the chief towns of the districts and departments, of which there were perhaps twenty on my road; and in each of these there were some commissioners of the executive power, emissaries from the jacobins of Paris, to whom my face was well known, or, which was worse, mountaineers, who knew me still better. It was my business therefore to order matters so as never to pass a town, except at break of day or the commencement of night; and to sleep in the villages. This would be attended with the inconvenience of rendering me somtimes suspected; yet even this danger was less, than that to which I should be exposed, if I even stopped in a town.

This afternoon, therefore, I must travel six miles, in order to pass *Mussidan* at dusk, and sleep two miles beyond it. At three o'clock I set off, a little rested, and thoroughly dried, but not less tortured with my rheumatism. Soon the pain became so acute, that at every step my body bent to the ground, and rose not without great

great exertion. The diseased leg puffed up, burnt like fire, and felt enormously heavy. To add to my difficulty, the road was in some places deep sloughs, in others filled up with rough flints, over which I walked as on burning coals. So painful was my progress, that after walking five minutes I was deluged with sweat, and then was forced to halt as long, standing pensive, in pain of body, and anxiety of mind, one leg off the ground, the other heartily tired, and my weight supported by a staff. Night came on, and my strength was completely exhausted, when I found myself in a village, a mile short of Mufsidan. I saw a little alehouse, at which I stopped.

How good were the people, who kept it ! " Ah, sir, you seem very ill ;" They looked at my leg ; eagerly prepared the bath of warm water, which I requested ; and ran to get some elder flowers, at my desire. They would have me sup in a little private room, because they were getting ready a supper for a noisy band of furious revolutionists, and a sick person would like to be quiet. I know not whether they suspected, that I had some reasons not to be desirous of this company. In fine, the landlady would give up to me her own bed : it was the best she had, and then I should be alone.

I was so weary, had suffered so much, and had passed two such vexatious nights ; my leg appeared so urgently to demand as much respite as possible ; my hosts were so attentive, their countenances so promising, for I am a believer in physiognomy, and sometimes I put a little confidence in a handsome face, and always in a good-natured one, and they took so much care to keep from me every cause of disquietude, and every inquisitive

eye ; that I believed I could not do better, than stay a couple of days. Their attention slackened not one minute : above all they were careful not to alarm me with that heap of questions, with which innkeepers always assail you. They only said sometimes : " surely, sir, you come from Bourdeaux !" and without waiting for my answer, without inquiring further, or adding another word, they would lift up their hands and eyes with a very significant air. Once, indeed, the landlady, noticing my clothes, which my late travels had not improved, said to me, " ah, sir, it is easy to see, that you have been used to a nicer dress than this." The compliment, however, gave me no great pleasure ; as it was a hint, that I had not yet given myself completely the look of a dirty jacobin ; and I resolved to omit nothing to acquire this. It was not till the end of the second day, that I took leave of my hosts. With sorrow I quitted those excellent people ; and, on paying my little bill, I felt a secret displeasure at the too great moderation of their charge.

Travelling towards Mussidan, I entered it at dusk. In the midst of the principal street is a guard-house on the right ; and I slipped by on the left, whilst some waggons were passing between us. Thus I got through the town without accident : but how was I to proceed ? I had nursed my rheumatism to little purpose : the disease grew worse : the little exercise I had taken so increased the swelling, that it ascended to the midleg : the pain was excruciating. How unfortunate ! I, who lately walked so stoutly, was now deprived of my legs, when I depended chiefly on them for my safety. If I could not walk above four miles in a day, what shadow of hope

hope had I left ? At the best my enterprize was bold in the extreme, by this it's danger would be quintupled. Was it possible for me to be above two months on the road, and stop at more than sixty inns, without being discovered ? Yet were it granted me once more to embrace my Lodoiska ! But it is too certain, that cruel fate at length has decreed our separation. Thus did I murmur against providence : may it pardon the weaknesses of man ; who accuses it so frequently, only because he does not penetrate it's designs !

I assure you I had need of true courage, during the two tedious hours it took me to travel a mile and a half. At length, arrived at the first village, I called up some peasants, and desired them to show me the inn. One of them led me to a house of wretched appearance ; too like it's master, who came grumbling to open the door. Surveying me with a look of distrust, he said to my guide, in his provincial dialect, which I luckily understood, " where did you find this man ? " — " Why, faith, on the road :" answered he. To which the brute replied, " good, good : we will send him back thither."

I entered. My man resumed his pipe ; smoked away without saying a word ; spat almost upon my feet ; placed himself directly before the fire, which he hid from me ; and seemed to have entirely forgotten, that any one was present. Not so the little woman, his wife : she addressed me in a very insinuating tone : but there was something so constrained in her language, something so treacherous in her looks, and in the whole of her hypocritical demeanour, and such an air of malice about her, that prevented my being one moment her dupe. I could scarcely have stumbled on a

place more unluckily ; at the same time I could not have been more readily put on my guard : so I arranged my looks, my actions, and my words, according to the character I was so unfortunately called upon to assume.

Whilst burning my omelet, the eternal prater stunned me with her questions, which she mingled with insidious remarks. How she pitied those good noblemen, those poor priests, those worthy merchants, who were guillotined by scores ! This did not take. Then she digressed on Charlotte Corday, whose eulogy she pronounced, and on Marat, for whom, according to her, hanging would have been too good. I fell into a violent passion, and threatened her with nothing short of the guillotine, in the true style of father Duchesne : in fact I exhibited a frightful picture of a jacobin. She was not surprised ; and she did not yield ; but continued her villainous part with unceasing perfidy, and I persevered in mine with equal intrepidity.

However we could not sit up all night. I took the precaution, to go to bed in my pantaloons, in which I had a brace of excellent pocket pistols ; and I placed my dear Lodoiska's present under my pillow. Yet formidable as this weapon was, which from it's large mouth, as a cannon charged with grape-shot, would emit four bullets and fifteen large slugs at once, and beside contained a strong bayonet, my chief reliance was not on it. What above all inspired me with firmness, calmly to meet the rising dangers of each day, and to traverse the numerous crouds of my enemies with head erect, was a small quantity of excellent opium, the precious gift of my universalist of Finisterre. This, formed into a few small pills, I kept, wrapped up in a piece of a glove,

a glove, next my very skin ; and so well concealed, that, unless I were stripped completely naked, and searched with the utmost indecency, it was impossible to be found. Thus, in case of an unforeseen attack, of a sudden surprise, which would neither allow me to fight my way, nor to put an end to my fate with my pistols, a last and sure resource remained. From the bottom of the horrible dungeon, into which I should not fail to be first thrown, I should escape their detestable scaffold, by the help of my invisible narcotic. I pleased myself with the idea, that, braying their rage to my last breath, I should disappoint it's malice.

The next day I was a little surprised, at having spent a good and long night in the same place. It was after nine o'clock, when the landlady awaked me, to ask whether I were not ready to set out. I told her, I found myself so well where I was, that I intended to take my dinner with her : it was not her fault, that it was not my last. As I was swallowing my last mouthful, she went out, saying with a canting tone, that I should pay her when she returned, which would be in a minute or two. In reality, she did not stay, but she brought with her a huge rustic, sufficiently proud of his magistracy, yet still more embarrassed with it. " This is the citizen, our mayor," said she to me : " he is come to look at your passport." I produced it with an air of satisfaction. By the manner in which he inspected it, I soon discovered, that he could scarcely read. He inquired after the seal : it had a stamp on it, which I showed him, adding, that they sealed them in no other way in my country : and immediately I began a fine and long harangue on that kind of seal, pretty frequently interrupted by bumpers

of my landlady's thin wine, of which I had just ordered a quart, that citizen the mayor might do me the honour of drinking a cup with me. I had done very right, and I perceived in the course of my history, that the episodes were full as well relished as the piece itself. The malignant landlady perceived it too: the mayor was too well satisfied with my paper: this was not her aim. "I will go," said she, and "fetch citizen the attorney, syndic of the place: he can read writing off hand." He soon came, was received as a person with whose conspicuous merit I was perfectly acquainted, took a third glass, and first of all heard one of my last tales, which citizen the mayor begged me to repeat for the entertainment of his colleague. On the first a second was engrafted, and on the second a third, which was followed by several others, accompanied with the jingling of the glasses, and bursts of laughter, with which the sides of my villagers shook. Prodigal to them, frugal to myself, I filled their glasses every moment, and emptied my own as seldom as possible. By degrees, however, I grew a little merry, and became so much the better company. My stories, still more and more diverting, made them ready to die with laughing. They forgot my passport; of which however I took care continually to remind them. The landlady, who did not drink, burnt with impatience to see it re-appear. Re-appear in fact it did, but to disappear again as quickly. *My duty, my respect for the magistrates of the people*, brought it every moment into my hand: but the virtues of Marat to publish, the great achievements of the mountain to relate, the many interesting or amusing tales I had to tell, permitted me not to open it; without

but thinking of it, it would fall back into my pocket-book. I was not slow to take it out; yet it was only to let it drop in again. In the space of an hour it performed this journey fifty times: fifty times they had a glimpse of it, but they did not see it once. However this was not necessary. The more I spoke, the more I bawled, the more I swore, the more I guillotined, the more I insulted morality, justice, and public decency; the less desire they had to read my papers: there could be no doubt, then, of my being one of the good patriots of France. At this my landlady was enraged: she went to seek a municipal officer by way of reinforcement. Him, too, I made drink and laugh, and laugh and drink: but as for the passport, he, like the others, saw it only at a distance. Still the shrew would not give it up; had it been only for the sale of her wine, she would have brought me the whole municipality one by one. She did fetch two more recruits, of such huge dimensions, that they were sufficient of themselves to empty her cellar. Had they gone on, I must have been buried in it. As soon as I saw them, I rose to pay. The good wife, though she had contented herself with being a looker on, saw double. She reckoned two quarts for one: I, who had nothing to fear, sent her to a thousand devils, and offered her for this time my passport; of which I did not cease to talk, and with which, I assured my new comers, a man might go to the very bottom of hell. This assertion was not contradicted by any of their predecessors. The mayor, who had not read it, though I had given him an opportunity of doing it, swore, that there could be no doubt of it's goodness; though he swore it with less emphasis than his

two colleagues, whom I had never permitted to read it. Loaded with their compliments, I paid the score already run up, with another quart which I had ordered; and as soon as I had drunk a glass of this to the health of the two fresh auxiliaries, I took leave, to the regret of the company, sorry to lose so good a companion, and to the extreme vexation of the malicious land-lady, greatly chagrined at being obliged to relinquish all hope, for this time, of the hundred livres [4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*] reward, which were given to every informer.

The following day nothing new occurred. It was not till the day after, that I saw Perigueux, a dangerous place, in the neighbourhood of which Valady's friend had been stopped. Fortunately the road to Limoges passed by the town, through a suburb, where no one molested me: but it was dark night, when, exhausted with fatigue, I arrived in a hamlet, two miles distant, called *les Tavernes*. The innkeeper was going to bed. Scarcely had I asked for a lodging, when he inquired for my passport. As soon as he perceived, that there was no *visa* from the chief town of the district, he exclaimed, “I see it is from Libourne, *otherwise I would have you arrested this instant*: but you have passed Perigueux, without presenting yourself to the magistrates: to-morrow you shall go back thither.” Could I choose but tremble? I knew well, that there were two or three mountaineers in Perigueux; where, besides, all the public bodies had been *regenerated*, in the style of Hebert. Yet I set a good face on the matter; saying I saw no other inconvenience in my return, than that of lengthening my journey, which was a serious affair to a poor fellow like me, already so ill; adding, that I thought it useless, and even imprac-

impracticable, to have my papers signed at every place I passed through. To which my landlord answered very laconically : “ well, well ; you must go back ! ” At length a sort of public carrier, who had a countenance of ingenuousness, mildness, and good-nature, took my part against the landlord ; with whom he remonstrated in a firm yet friendly tone : observing, that in reality, the *poor man* had not thought of showing his papers in every town ; that it would be cruel to make him go back, in the condition in which he was ; that by putting travellers to unnecessary trouble, people would be deterred from travelling, which *would complete the ruin of innkeepers, of trade, of France, and of the carriers.* Our landlord, a little quieted by this discourse, did not repeat his terrible speech : but, notwithstanding all I could do, he did not utter a single word, to set my mind at rest : I even thought, that the whole of his behaviour boded me no good. For supper he gave me nothing but a morsel of brown bread, and a little small wine. My honest advocate again took pity on me : he offered me, and forced me to accept, the last remnant of part of a fowl, which he was eating when I entered. We then began to chat. I know not how it was, divorce was mentioned : my good man at this fell into a passion, protesting, that they should never force him to separate from his wife and children. I saw he adored them ; and a few words sufficed to inform me, that this man, well born, though poorly educated, was led by his own plain understanding and natural probity, to detest the excesses of the day. It was not without pleasure I learnt, that he was going to Limoges, with a little cart loaded with goods : and I promised myself to rise early enough

enough to travel with him, provided the innkeeper had not a secret intention of making me retread the road to Perigueux. The landlady, as I was going to a truckle bed, she showed me in the garret, told me, that I must pay her immediately for my wretched meal, and still more wretched lodging. How weak and ridiculous is even sometimes a philosopher ! This circumstance, which in reality proved, that I acted the sans-culotte to a miracle, and that the representative of the people was completely concealed, affected me much more forcibly, than the approach of the greatest dangers. To confess the truth, I had tears in my eyes, when I offered this woman my pitiful assignat of fifteen sous [7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.], out of which she returned me five ; and no sooner was she gone, than I exclaimed, "what pains am I doomed to undergo ! to what humiliations am I destined to submit ! alas ! to finish perhaps at the scaffold !"

Think of the imprudence I had committed, and the agony that followed, when almost immediately a noise occasioned by something stirring in another sort of a bed, which I had not perceived at the farther end of my garret, informed me, that some poor fellow was there ; who, if he were not found asleep, must have heard what I said. Thus was my night's rest destroyed ; anxiety induced watchfulness : at length, the fever having left me at break of day, I fell into a state of stupefaction, that continued too long. When I opened my eyes, my tutelary carrier had been gone a full hour ; and my opium, having been loosened during my restlessness, was apparently lost. With what anxiety did I search for this friend, more than ever wanting ! what did I not endure till I found it ? Perhaps of all the cruel

eruel accidents of this melancholy journey no one made me suffer so much.

I went down stairs, to limp out of doors, when, as I reached the threshold, the innkeeper, already on horseback, called out to me, “ a good journey to you ! I am going to Perigueux.” A moment after, reflecting on the strange pains he took to tell me where he was going, without my asking him, I was anxious to know, whether he had really taken that road : and on looking every way, I could see no person on the road to Perigueux, but there was a man on horseback galloping towards Thiviers. At this I became extremely alarmed : undoubtedly he was gone on before to denounce me, and have me apprehended in the first town : however I went forwards, resolved to inquire of those I met. The first, whom I asked whether the person on horseback before me were not a tall man, with dark hair, about fifty, in a gray coat, and mounted on a black horse, answered Yes. The next said the same. The third was the carrier, whom I found at the inn the evening before : he had proceeded slowly, as he had many things to take up by the way. Putting on a forced smile, I bid him good Morrow, and said : “ So our landlord is gone on before us.” He contented himself with saying he was not. Prepossessed with my fears, I made no reply, but walked on ; and a quarter of a mile farther I met another traveller, whom I questioned as before. “ It is just such a man as you describe,” said he, “ but you will soon overtake him, for he has stopped at that large village you see at the bottom of the hill.” These words permitted me no longer to doubt of the mischief prepared for me by a traitor. To avoid it, if it be

possible,

possible, said I to myself, I shall do well, whatever pain it cost me, and however great the risk, to return to Perigueux, and show myself to the municipality. No doubt it will be better to present myself in that dreaded town, where my seemingly voluntary proceeding will inspire some confidence, than to be carried back thither by the jacobins of this village, where an informer waits for me. Yet what an alternative! How severe the choice! and how black the malice that compels me to it! At last, my resolution taken, I sorrowfully returned towards the town.

It was not long before I met the carrier, who asked, whether I had lost any thing. " Alas! yes: my time, and my labour. I am returning to Perigueux. But how could you, in whom I put such confidence, deceive me on this occasion? How could you join with that man, who betrays me?"—" What man?"—" The innkeeper. It was he, who rode by, in a gray coat, on a black horse. He is gone to inform against me at Palissoux, and has desired you not to tell me me of it."—" It is all a mistake;" cried the carrier. " I saw the traveller, of whom you speak: it was not the innkeeper: had he been capable of such conduct, I would never go into his house again." To this he subjoined, in a tone, which falsehood can never imitate, and with that look of sensibility, which malice can never put on, " Harkye, my poor friend, I am grieved for you: to think of your returning to Perigueux in the condition you are in, with one leg swelled up to the knee! trust yourself to me, get up into my cart, make yourself a hole amongst the goods, and come and dine at Palissoux: I promise you, nobody will

will say a word to you whilst you are in my company. After all, I will say as I did at first, you have not the look of a thief."

What a happy change in my situation! the cart shook me terribly, and at every jolt I was obliged to hold fast with both hands, to keep myself from being thrown off: yet my leg was rested: my copious sweats, my severe fatigues, and my acute pains, were saved; and then, if the good carrier should continue his protection to me! — This I should soon see.

We dined together. The meal was too short. The more I conversed with him, the more he inspired me with confidence: and he, for his part, confirmed himself in the opinion that *I had not the look of a thief*. This strange compliment, to which he confined his eulogies, could not avoid striking me much. At first I interpreted it to signify; that the good carrier, fully occupied with his own station, had the happiness to know no other enemies; and probably his simple and ingenuous mind formed no idea of any other; but I soon learnt, that the landlord at des Tavernes had dreaded me neither as an aristocrat, nor as a girondist, but concerning himself only about his own affairs, he had simply taken me for a thief. This was the reason why his wife made me pay before hand: and when I was gone to bed, my carrier had instinctively persuaded the innkeeper he was mistaken; who otherwise, perhaps, would have had me arrested. My painful journeys through bad roads, and in such stormy weather, had so altered my appearance; and I arrived at the inn at so late an hour; that the suspicion was not very strange. However, my honest man did not repent of having taken

up

up my defence ; and he often repeated, that I had not the look of a thief.

“ On the contrary,” said I, “ I am their sworn enemy.” We came to an explanation. I went on: “ The thieves are the maratists ; the fellows who guillotine tradesmen to get possession of their effects ; and who ruin trade by the law of the maximum, equally pernicious and incapable of being carried into execution, being in fact nothing more than a permission given to robbers to pillage warehouses.”—“ Bravo !” cried the carrier, giving me a hearty slap on the back. I continued. “ I am a tradesman of Bourdeaux. I openly opposed the thieves : I called them publicly by their true name : I persuaded a number of my comrades to make war with them : we combated them for a long time, and with ardour : at length they conquered ; they want to get my head ; and I am endeavouring to escape them.”—“ Your health,” cried he, touching my glass with his. He did not drink, he threw the wine down his throat. He leaped for joy. “ Rascals ! Rascals !” he exclaimed, “ A parcel of vagabonds, who never did any thing in their lives, and consume the property of those that work. Did they not put my best horse into requisition, as they called it ? And did they not load the poor beast so unmercifully, that he fell sick and died ? He cost me twenty good guineas. And then that divorce ! they have invented that, to put my wife into requisition too. Shall any body rob me of my wife ? We will see that. Aye, aye : I did well, to take your part. You shall come along with me. I am known all along this road. In my company nobody will say a word to you. Aye, aye : I saw

I saw well enough, you had not the look of a thief."

To confirm him the more in his opinion, I payed our shot; and, requesting him in future to take upon himself to discharge our reckonings, I forced him to accept of an assignat of fifty livres (2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*) ; which he did not put into his pocket-book, without telling me again of his loss, of his wife, and his God, and repeating four or five times, that I was no thief.

On my account he would not sleep at Thiviers, the chief place of a district. We passed it early in the morning; and I, stretched under the cloth which covered the goods in the cart, was invisible. At every inn my conductor was known. The inquisitive addressed all their questions to him. He gave out, that I was a young man of Libourne, a friend of his, and thoroughly sound. In the villages, and petty towns, I did not take the unnecessary precaution of concealing myself under the cloth: I passed openly, reclining in the cart, my leg wrapped up in the carrier's frock, appearing fatigued and in pain, yet bold and resolute. Who in such an equipage, and under such an appearance, could suspect one of the too famous proscribed representatives, pursued throughout all France? I completely resembled a poor volunteer, just dismissed from the hospital, and returning to his own country with a furlough.

This resemblance and my presence of mind extricated me from a very dangerous situation, towards the close of the third day. It was at *Aixe*, a little town, four miles from Limoges. My conductor told me, there was no guard mounted at the place; so I had not concealed

concealed myself: when on a sudden, turning the corner of a street, we fell on a post lately established. This time it was fine weather, it was broad day-light, the sentry was not asleep, and, which was still worse, twenty of his comrades, sitting on the outside of the guard-house, surveyed me attentively. "Citizen, your passport:" said the sentry to me. I, without hesitation, cried, lifting up my leg with some effort: "See here, little b——;" it was a youth of sixteen; "go in my place, and get yourself cut down by the thieves in Vendée: then, coming back, pass every where boldly; your half-broken leg will serve you for a passport!" At these words the delighted fans-culottes burst out in a laugh, clapped their hands and cried, "Bravo! bravo! comrade:" The little soldier, quite abashed, joined in the laugh: and my guide, eager to get on, plied his whip briskly. It was the first time I had seen him whip his horses: of course it was the greatest proof of attachment he could give me.

The same evening we arrived at Limoges. My conductor knowing, that I must not alight at the inn, took me to his own house. I could not remain there without danger, as it was open to all comers; though I was placed in a back room, where was a good bed, which I seldom quitted, except to bathe my leg in a pail of warm water, which was brought me ten times a day. Thus two days passed on: the wife attentive to the re-establishment of my health, and the husband seeking for some honest lad, to convey me farther on my journey. How thankful was I not then to Providence, which seemed to have tied my legs, for the purpose of throwing me into the arms of such an excellent protector!

At

At the close of the third day, my conductor was not returned home at his usual hour: when his wife came on a sudden to tell me with a mysterious air, that her husband had ordered her to conduct me immediately to the inn in the suburb, where I should find some carriers, who would convey me to Orleans. "No, no," said I, "you are mistaken: carriers do not set out at this time of night: and it is not to the inn in the suburb I am to go. At the end of the suburb there is a guard-house, which I must avoid; as my worthy friend has already told me. Through this difficulty he will guide me himself: he has given me his word to do so: I depend upon it; and I am sure he will not forfeit it :" At this the woman fell a weeping; confessed, that she began to be alarmed; and intreated me not to vex her husband, by relating to him the *little trick* she had employed, *to get me out of the house* in his absence.

Little trick, poor woman! be it so: yet, had I listened to you, I should have been cast away in the harbour's mouth.

Almost immediately her husband entered. His eyes sparkled: never had I seen his countenance so animated; he would have spoken, yet he could not. At last he clapped both his hands on my shoulders, thrust his rough beard against my cheek, and, squeezing my hand so hard that the blood was ready to start from my fingers ends, exclaimed "it is done: you will set out tomorrow: an honest lad *will trundle* you to Paris: he understands you are *contraband goods*, and that it will be necessary to *smuggle* you along the road. How happy I am!"

Good man ! how much more happy would he have been, had he known what I really was ! But to have entrusted this to him, would have been entrusting it to his wife, for whom he had no secret : and in the mortal fear this would have excited, it is easy to conceive, how many other *little tricks* she would have invented. No doubt her head would have turned, and the next day, before I had travelled twenty miles, her husband, the honest lad, and myself, would have been ruined. With regret I found myself obliged to conceal something from this worthy friend.

He called me before two in the morning ; that we might have time to drink our bottle a piece, make a good cut in the black pudding, and swallow a drop or two of strong coffee after all, to promote digestion. Could I refuse this early repast, to which I was so heartily invited ? Then it gave him such pleasure to drink his glass with me ! Yet I perceived his joy was not wholly unmixed with sorrow. It could not be regret at parting with me merely, for thus he became my deliverer. At length I discovered, that his wife, whose fears had increased, dared not venture to stay in the house that night. " I am very much vexed at it :" said he : " for as soon as I have set you on your way, I must depart myself. I am going to Perigueux : the journey will take me some days : and then one is so desirous of having a little chat with one's wife." — I am persuaded he adored her as much as on his wedding-day. — " However," continued he, " that must be deferred : I shall see my wife again ; but I may not again meet with an opportunity of saving the life of an honest man." — I know not whether the reader will be as much moved

as I was: I listened to him, I admired him in silence, and my eyes swam in tears.

When we had eaten heartily, and drunk our fill, we set off: but I was first of all forced to suffer him to stuff my pockets with bread, and meat, and fruit, and chestnuts: he presented me too with a pair of worsted gloves, and a cotton night-cap, which I accepted with great pleasure, and which I still preserve.

At the first dawn of day, we made a pretty long circuit, by which means we avoided the guard-house, and all the out-posts. A mile on the high road we came to an ale-house, where my new guide waited for me.—After my good friend had delivered me into his charge, and a hundred times repeated his recommendations, he embraced me, and even wept. I too wept: but how sweet are the tears of gratitude!—At length, we bid each other adieu.

Adieu, worthy, humane, and generous man! good fans-culotte, such as they ought to be, and such as they all would be, did not villains labour to pervert their minds. He must be persecuted in my sad country, since his simple and rustic heart is endued with all the virtues, which the sublimest philosophy seldom attains.—He must be persecuted!—O God, God of justice, let him at least find in his misfortunes all the succour he afforded me!

My new guide answered the character given me of him by my former one: an honest lad, possessed of courage, and well disposed towards me. But a single glance at his vehicle, very different from that of my carrier, gave me to perceive, that I should often be in a very dangerous situation with him, and almost always in a

delicate one. In the first place his carriage was weighty and heavy laden, so that we could not travel with much speed: in the next place, I had seven companions of my journey; and what companions! they were ————— all seven of very discordant dispositions, agreeing only in one point: they gloried in being jacobins, and were not a little jacobinized.

Such were the travellers, expected, solely from the desire of doing an action gratifying to their conductor, to keep my secret throughout the whole journey, and even to run some risk themselves for me on many occasions. At the entrance of a town, at every guard-house, at every post, at every place where passports would be demanded, I was to lie stretched at full length in the bottom of the caravan, half my body covered with the clothes, the great coats, and even the bodies, of these hearty mountaineers, and the other half concealed under the petticoats of their maratist wives.— Thus it was intended to pass me every where: there was no other method.

Put yourself in my place for a moment, you will conceive all the ticklishness of my situation. First, there were circumstances to me very dangerous, under which I must assume to my comrades the appearance of a man who feared nothing. For instance, as soon as the passports had been seen at any place, I was supposed to be out of danger: the inn at which we stopped to dine, and more especially where we slept, was usually the best in the town; of course it was the most frequented by travellers, so that I had there particularly to dread meeting with some deputy, some commissioner, or some one of those travellers in post-chaises, to most of whom, being

being people employed by government, I was well known. In such places, however, I was forced to preserve an appearance of tranquillity: for if I had suffered the least of my thousand apprehensions to transpire, it would have been whispered: "this man is well known! is he an emigrant? is he a person of consequence?" and soon it would have been said aloud, without reserve: I was forced, therefore, never to take any other precautions, or testify other fears, than those of an obscure deserter, as I was supposed to be nothing else. Woe had betided me, if my companions had conjectured who I was: some would have trembled with affright; others would have been ready to pull out my eyes; and I know not whether our conductor would have dared to remain firm, notwithstanding the temptation of the reward I had promised him, the recommendation of my good friend, who was his also, and his hatred to the tyrants of the day,

In the next place, amid the little factions, which divided our company, I must constantly avoid siding with any party: it was my business, neither to espouse nor to displease any one, but to be civil to all, and gently make my way amongst them. Nay more: I must endeavour, by art more profound than that of the most experienced coquette, to gain the good will of every one, and make all their hearts mine. I had not to dread an enemy merely: one indifferent person was sufficient to ruin me. My safety required, therefore, that each of these discordant originals should feel interested in my behalf.

Each did; and soon, At supper I held out glass in hand with the cavalier; with — with — They were all delighted with me by the second day.

These minutiae may be forgiven me, since never was man in a similar situation, and henceforward the narration of events will proceed with rapidity.

During the first two days every thing went on well: no one gave himself any concern about us. In the middle of the third the misadventure of Aixe was renewed. I think it was at *Bois-Remont*; a paltry hamlet, composed of five or six cottages. Who could suspect a sentry there?

There had been a frost, and it was very cold: to warm myself, I had alighted, and was walking with the cavalier. On a sudden a sentry appeared. I went up to him with "what are you doing there comrade? You do not seem to sweat." He laughed, "If you would have me be a little hotter," answered he, "you have only to fetch me a glass of wine."—"With all my heart: I will go for one."—I did not carry him a glass myself; but I sent him one. In the mean time he looked over the other passports, and never thought of mine.

"Why is there a sentry in this hamlet?" said I to the postmaster, who kept an alehouse, which he dignified with the appellation of an inn. He answered, that the vendees increased much in number, and, advancing in that direction, obliged them to be on the watch; so that, for the space of sixty miles, we should find a guard in every place we passed through. This made our carrier look grave. Beyond Limoges, he had reckoned only on being searched once at *Château-Roux*, and four or five times between Orleans and Paris, which was a very suspicious road. Thus he found it would be more difficult than he expected, to run his contraband goods. On this occasion I discovered, that, beside being pos-
sessed

essed of great courage, my man had more penetration and address, than could be expected from his condition. " You manage very well with those folks," said he to me in a whisper, pointing to the rest of the passengers: " Go on in the same way with them, and do not be afraid of my flinching. Were you the devil himself," and he squeezed my hand, " I would carry you through." On this I thanked him, and said, that as his difficulty was doubled, I would double his reward. " For that as you please :" replied he: " you are an honest man, and I am glad of it: but do not distress yourself; we shall meet again, and then we shall see."

The next evening we were stopped at the entrance of Argenton: but the carriage was not searched, the officer contented himself with looking at the papers which were produced; whilst I, to prevent being called upon, lay hid under a heap of clothes and petticoats. I did not peep out from under them, till we arrived at the inn. There we found every one in the house full of the news of the afternoon, which they related to us, without much pressing. Two volunteers had been discovered, about midnight, in a by-road, near Dufay, whose sole passport was a permission, which appeared not altogether according to form. They were kept under confinement till day, when twelve national guards took charge of them, to bring them to Argenton, that they might be more closely examined. A little distance from the town, one of them made an excuse to retire for a few yards, which he was allowed to do. Being on the bank of the river, he took a glance at it's depth, threw a knife to his comrade, bidding him endeavour to make use of it, and leaped in. They in vain attempted to

save him, and had been seeking him in the water for two hours. His companion was thrown into prison in the town. This tale made me tremble. I knew, that Guadet and Salle had long entertained the rash project of traversing all France with a permission, which they had forged, as being soldiers going to join the army of the north. On their arrival at the frontiers, they would have proceeded through the Netherlands to Amsterdam, there to take ship for America. Alarmed for my friends, I inquired what kind of men the volunteers were: and the descriptions given were nearly such as I feared. Alas! was it really Salle, who sighed in prison near me? and had my beloved Guadet found his grave in the waters of the Creuse? Never since that time have I heard any news of them*.

Afflicted with this new subject of disquietude, I was notwithstanding obliged to affect a degree of joy. At supper, the appetites of my companions made them so eager, that they did not perceive I could not eat; but the cavalier soon discovered I could not drink. He had already begun to hob-and-nob with me: imagine what I suffered.

The next day we had some risk at Château-Roux, which was the chief town of the department. The passports were sedulously examined: then one of the jacobins on guard raised himself up, I will not say at the door, but at the entrance of our caravan, to be convin-

* At present I am too well informed. It was not in the waters of the Creuse, that they perished, but in Bourdeaux; in that very city, which their bravery had defended, and their talents honoured. Unfortunate city! when wilt thou erect statues to them, in the place where thou sawest their scaffolds?

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ced, that there were actually no more than six passengers; *for fear some girondine should escape them*: such were his words. Fortunately all our precautions had been taken: coats, cloaks, petticoats, straw, bandboxes, bundles, men, women, and children, hid me, covered me, stifled me: I did not stir, I did not breathe, but my heart palpitated strongly. At length our inquisitor left us with a look of dissatisfaction: and indeed he had some reason to be dissatisfied, as, notwithstanding all his vigilance, he permitted a girondine of the deepest dye to escape.

It was decreed, that in this same town of Château-Roux, I should begin to experience trials of another kind. In Gironde I was informed of the event of the 10th of brumaire [October 31]; namely, the judicial assassination of our twenty-one unfortunate friends, most of whom were amongst the founders of the republic; others remained, who might have escaped: at least I was still willing to hope it. This evening, at Château-Roux, a man sat down at our table. He was asked for news, “ Madam Roland has just been guillotined;” said he. What a blow for me! I bore it as well as I could,

The parisians, then, had suffered that courageous woman too, who alone, in the beginning of September, dared to undertake their defence, and thunder against the assassins with her immortal pen, to perish on the scaffold! however, her last words were preserved. After having heard her sentence, she said to the villains of the revolutionary tribunal: “ You deem me worthy to share the fate of the great men, whom you have assassinated. I will endeavour to carry with me to

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the scaffold the courage which they displayed. As they dragged her to it on a vile sledge, the mob, struck with pity, or with admiration, but torpid through fear, was silent. Here and there only, a few hired wretches, planted for the purpose, cried out, "to the guillotine with her!" She, with gentleness, mixed with magnanimity, replied: "I am going to it: soon I shall arrive: but they, who send me thither, will not be long ere they follow me. I go innocent: they will go guilty: yet you, who applaud my fate, will equally applaud their's." They had given her, as a companion of her misfortune, or rather of her glory, one citizen Lamarche, a feeble-minded man. By the side of a woman, who smiled at the approach of death, he was depressed with sorrow. She supported him; she consoled him; and, at the foot of the scaffold, with a last attention, worthy of her great soul, she said to him: "go first: let me spare you at least the pangs of seeing my blood!"

Thus I learnt she was no more. That woman, whose least merit was that of uniting in herself all the graces, all the charms, all the virtues of her sex; that woman, whose rare talents and masculine virtues would have honoured the greatest men, was no more. My Lodoiska had lost the friend of her choice, her intimate and worthy friend. She had momentarily embellished her country, and sought to emancipate it from it's chains, only to be a striking example of the blindness or ingratitude of mankind.—She was no more!—yet I was forced to preserve a countenance unmoved, when I heard the dreadful news. To preserve a countenance unmoved, do I say? it was requisite, that I should share the cruel joy of my misguided companions: yet I felt

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I possessed not the ferocious courage. At her revered name, my mouth murmured forth a few words of eulogy and pity. It was enough to refrain from tears. Good god ! what torture !

The nearer we approached Paris, the more people we met coming from it. On this account my situation became more perilous ; and it became still more painful. Searches to go through two or three times a day, and the more imminent danger of being recognised, formed the least of my ills. The news related to us filled my mind with despair. Two days after, at Vierzou, I heard of the death of *Cuffy* ; who had been immolated in *Gironde*. The next day, at *Salbris*, I was informed, that *Manuel* and *Kersaint* were murdered at Paris. In two days more, not far from *Ferté-Lovendal*, the fate of *Roland* was told me. At the news of his wife's death, he was unable longer to support the burden of life. That nothing might lead to a discovery of the friend, who had given him an asylum, he had gone into the high road to *Rouen*, and there stabbed himself. Amongst other papers, one was found about him with the following words : “ passenger, respect the remains of a virtuous man. ”

The tragical end of *Lidon* deserves to be related by itself. He was escaping from *Gironde*, towards *Brives*, the place of his birth. Soon, unable to walk farther, he wrote to *a friend*, to send him a horse. This wretch was become a maratist ; and certainly he showed himself deserving never to be otherwise. Monster ! he carried the letter of the too confiding *Lidon* to the committee of superintendance of his commune, of which he was the chief ; and instead of a horse, he sent him two bri-

gades of gendarmes. Lidon defended himself to the last : after having slain three of his antagonists, he slew himself.

Such were the daily tales, to which I was obliged to listen, without changing countenance. No one but he, who has experienced a similar punishment, can form a just idea of it. O Lodoiska ! had it not been for the remembrance of thy love, what could have restrained me from putting a period to my tortures ? Yet when I smothered within my bosom so many griefs, on the hope of reaching thee, who could assure me, that all my pains were not fruitless ? Had it been possible for thee to have procured entrance into that Paris, towards which I slowly advanced, through so many sufferings ? and even supposing thee to have arrived there, would not the unrelenting enemies of all talents and all virtues pursued thee, sought thee, discovered thee ? Heavens ! perhaps they had already sent thee to the grave, along with citizen Roland !

For some days my imagination could not dispel the dreadful idea. I was of all men the most tortured, the most impatient, the most tired of the burden of life. Perhaps even this was another kindness of providence. Perhaps, through the immensity of danger, I had yet to wade through, before I could arrive in my natal city, it was good that death, which was about to press me so closely, always at hand, always imminent, should appear to me a blessing.

I had just entered the department, where a whole people, free in it's choice, had elected me it's representative : the arduous duties it imposed on me I had fulfilled perhaps with some courage ; yet I arrived in it

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a fugitive, disguised, proscribed, happy if it would permit me to pass undisturbed. *Orleans*, it's chief town, had long been the abode of my most implacable enemies. These villains, bought by the foreign faction, a long time without bread, and without resource, though now invested with power, and wallowing in wealth, yet still covered with contempt, with hatred, and with guilt, knew me well; for, a few days previous to the 31st of may, they had heard me deliver my opinion for the last time in the assembly, which then retained at least a shadow of liberty. They had seen me in the national tribune, when thundering forth against them, and against their crimes. Should one of them catch the slightest glimpse of me, I was known: were I known, I had not twenty-four hours to live.

The gates of the city were kept shut, as a measure of general safety. In consequence of a search made the preceding night, forty fresh companions in misfortune had been added to the five hundred already reserved for the scaffold. These, too, were *louvetines*, and deemed worthy of the speediest death. Thus in this difficult strait, through which I was forced to pass, my name alone was sufficient to bring death upon any, who were suspected of attachment to it.

After we had gone through the usual examination, to the danger of which I was now inured, we were permitted to enter the city. I burnt with impatience to get out of it; but the unlucky carrier had parcels to deliver, and parcels to take up. Four hours we remained with impunity in this place, where I could not without rashness stay ten minutes.

At length we departed. We were passing the barrier

tier of the bridge, when we were stopped. "Our passports have been seen :" said the cavalier. " That is not the point in question :" said the officer on guard : " let every one alight."—" For what ?" asked the tradesman's wife.—" Let every one alight :" repeated he, in a more imperious tone.

The order must be obeyed. The men set the example. " This is not enough :" cried the officer : " the women must alight too ; there are men, who can easily put on women's clothes."—" I assure you their passports have been seen every where, and are perfectly according to form ;" said the carrier : but the poor fellow's voice was already changed. How I pitied him ! how I reproached myself, for having brought him into this scrape. The officer replied : " who says any thing to you about passports ? I do not want passports : *I must see faces.* *We know, what you do not.*" And for the third time he exclaimed, but now in a threatening voice, " let every one alight." To this, after a moment's reflection, he added : " let nobody stay up : I give you warning, I shall look in. You women, there ! you women !"

For this time I thought my labours would soon be at an end. Apparently I had been recognised somewhere : I had been denounced : and no doubt I was expected. Yet should I not do well to appear, on account of all these honest people ? This thought no sooner entered my head, than it vanished : for how would my discovering myself benefit them ? Would they have been less culpable in the eyes of my persecutors, because they had failed of conveying me to Paris ? The adventurous under-taking

taking was so far advanced, that, even for their sakes, I ought patiently to await the end.

The women, who alighted, in carrying away their useful petticoats, had left half my body uncovered. Quickly, but without noise, I threw over my legs and belly a little straw, and the great coat which the cavalier left behind. I then pulled over my head and breast, in the best manner I could, the bundles and band-boxes, under which they had before been buried. That done, I quietly drew my pistol out of my bosom, where I constantly kept it, and placed the muzzle in my mouth. I gave one sigh to my country ever dear, one tear to my adored wife, one thought to that providence which requites both good and evil, and awaited my last moment. O how slow was it's approach! how long did a moment then appear!

Half a quarter of an hour, to me half an age, painfully dragged on, whilst the cruel inquisitor scrupulously examined every countenance. At length he cried: "is there nobody else in the carriage?" and saying it jumped in. I heard, I felt him enter. One of his feet rested on one of my thighs. His hands tumbled over the large packages heaped behind the back-seat: he struck many blows upon the seats, at the foot of which I was lying amidst a number of little bundles. Protecting God! his feet could not feel me, his hands could not touch me, his scrutinizing eyes passed over me, no doubt, yet saw me not. Had he stooped ever so little, had he looked upwards from below, had he deranged a few straws, or lifted up a flap of the great coat, all would have been over with me, my pistol would have been

been discharged, I should have left Lodoiska and my country, and plunged into the gulph of eternity.

“ Faith, we had a charming escape !” said the carrier to me, yet pale and faint, though we had left the bridge a quarter of an hour. The cavalier, whose voice faltered too, asked me why I did not show myself, as it was not to have passports examined. I answered, that an indistinct sound had struck my ears; but, my head being buried in the bundles, I had not clearly understood what was said. The reader will perceive, this falsehood was necessary: as it would have appeared very singular, that I should knowingly have refused to let my face be seen; for I could not pretend to suppose, that a particular description had been sent thither of me, a simple deserter, and that the search after such a poor fellow could have been so very important. It was at the same time above all things necessary for me, to avoid the suspicion of my companions.

At *Thoury* I was on the point of quitting them. Long I hesitated, whether I should not turn off to the right, and go through *Pithiviers* to *Nemours*; to which place Lodoiska might have retired, and where I imagined I should still find a number of friends. I did not, however; prevented by my good genius: for I have since learnt, that some of my unfortunate friends were imprisoned, and the rest had fled. The terrible spirit of marratism had gained over, *in it's own way*, fifteen or twenty turbulent persons, in that little town, in which I had long seen the best dispositions prevail. There, as elsewhere, that band reigned by terroir. As I had formerly

formerly made some stay in that pleasant spot, many of it's tyrants were perfectly acquainted with my person ; and had I appeared there, I should certainly have been apprehended.

How near being so was I not at *Etampes* ? In the first place, the search was strict : less alarming than that at *Orleans*, but pretty similar to that at *Château-Roux*, and more persevering. As at *Château-Roux*, an over-curious jacobin raised himself on the step, and thrust his head into the carriage. In this attitude he read the passports : after which, looking round, and reckoning on his fingers, he was a long while satisfying himself, that there were as many passports as passengers. Then, after he had counted the number over two or three times, he asked, whether there were no one else : but great care was taken not to tell him, that one thin person, who would have given a great deal to have been still thinner, was almost stifled under those whom he had reckoned, that his legs and thighs were trodden upon by two women, whilst his breast was weighed down by a little girl, and his head crushed by a soldier's knapsack. He was not told it, yet he might have perceived it, for he many times put his hand on the knapsack, to preserve his balance.

We passed at length : but in the town we found a considerable stir. The principal street was full of soldiers : the drums beat a march : a person on horseback, who had just received the homages of the municipality, was passing the ranks, while the troops saluted him. To add to our disgrace, a signal was made the carrier to stop, till the ceremony was finished ; and the wife of the cavalier, curious in extreme, persisted in keeping our

curtains open. I sat as snugly as I could, to avoid the eyes of the multitude, in which one single man was sufficient to effect my destruction.

In the mean time our conductor had inquired the occasion of the bustle. It was a commissioner, belonging to the mountain, who had resided some time in this town, the chief of the district, and was going this evening to *Arpajon*, in order to reach Paris the next day. The commune would not suffer him to depart, without paying him some mark of attachment. They hoped to keep him a few hours longer, as probably he would not refuse to take a parting bottle or two with the jacobins of the town. And this jacobin, who was he? —— An exterminator, and one of the most daftardly, most cruel, most furious, in the whole mountain: of course one of my mortal enemies. It was —— !

Thus six months after we had sitten together in the assembly, —— and I met in the same town, in the same spot, and almost, I may say, face to face. Yet what a contrast! I, for having voluntarily sacrificed perhaps some talents, all my simple pleasures, all my favourite occupations, all my fondest attachments, my relations, my friends, and even my beloved Lodoiska, to promote the happiness of mankind, found myself a fugitive, in the garb of poverty, reduced to the humiliation of the meanest expedients, and threatened with the death of a criminal: whilst he, base, ignorant, corrupt, cowardly ambitious, like all the rest of his despicable faction, saw himself surrounded with honours, regarded with respect, and enjoying every token of the love of his constituents. Senfelefs, wretched people!

Had that knave, prompted by the genius of malevolence,

lence, advanced two steps nearer to that open caravan, from which I heard the noise of his march, what a prey would he have taken ! what an agreeable present for the kings abroad, and the kings of the mountain !

On this occasion I discovered, that my conductor received a strong impression from the adventure at Orleans, which he still retained ; and that, if he did not think himself certain, he had a violent suspicion, of my being a person of some consequence. When the whole procession had gone by, he said, fixing his eyes on me with a very significant look, "here is a fine *burly-burly*, shall we go on farther ?" On account of my companions, I affected indifference, and answered carelessly : "there is certainly a great number of people ; they will all dine at the inns to-day ; and perhaps we shall get nothing to eat at your's."—"That is what I was thinking," said he : "you are perfectly right :" and at the same time, notwithstanding the murmurs of the soldier's wife, who would have had no aversion to displaying her charms in such a crowd, his whip gave the signal for departure.

Thus we went on four miles farther to *Etréch*, a little village, where nevertheless ten other travellers sat down at our table. Some came from *Tours*, others from *Orleans*, several from *Toulouse*, and a *parisian* artilleryman from the eastern Pyrenees, where he had left an arm. They were all proceeding to Paris, as we approached which, we met people of all sorts more frequently, and in greater numbers. Is it certain, that none of them knew me ? How came it, that I was not denounced ? It was not thy will, inscrutable Providence ; to what, then, hast thou reserved me ?

I had just begun eating with a pretty good appetite, when the street resounded with the cry of " long live the representative of the people ; long live ——— ! " We were in a room up stairs, because the parlours were full. In them were all the sans-culottes in the village, fifty or sixty ragamuffins [*lurons*], who waited the arrival of their representative, glass in hand. Dextrous at seizing occasions of the meanest seduction, he would not fail to pay for a few hundred bottles as he passed, and stopping a little to take a part. Perhaps, too, like some of his stamp, prompted by an instinctive propensity to act the spy, even more than by a desire of popularity, he would show himself for a moment at the travellers table. Were this the case, my plan was formed. I listened with attention. If I heard any one coming up with some bustle, I would quit the company, under pretence of a pressing necessity, and remain absent a few minutes.— This sudden step would be attended with some danger, as it might excite suspicion : of this I was aware, but it might not be noticed, and I had no other resource.

This time it was a false alarm. A servant, sent on before, had been taken for the representative. But if the courier were gone by, the master could not be far behind: at least so it was firmly believed in the inn, and every moment I heard, " there he is ! there he is !" You may conceive the agony in which I finished, or rather finished not, my dinner, every article of which, perhaps very good, appeared to me, from that moment, execrable. To my great consolation, at length it ended ; and a few hours after we entered *Arpajon*.

The innkeeper, though he usually lodged our conductor, refused to accommodate us. Two diligences had

had arrived before us: besides, the representative of the people, and all his *retinue*, were to sup and sleep there. "It is impossible for me to go farther," whispered our conductor to me with a sorrowful look: "it is night; Lonjumeau is six miles off; and one of my horses is lame. I will go and try the other inns."

They were all full. "I am going to insist on being received here:" said he to me: "They must find me lodgings; they are obliged to do so. But I am perplexed on your account!" Then looking at me stedfastly he went on: "this deputy knows you, perhaps?"—"Very probably: at least I am sure he has often reviewed the battalion in which I was."—"Aye, aye:" replied he, shaking his head: "I understand you." Then, considering a moment, he added: "You have done many things of late, I believe, which you are not used to: could not you sleep to-night upon straw, in the stable?"—"A good thought—yet would it not look suspicious?—What would the rest of the company think of it?—no: do you go to the inn-keeper, prevail upon him to take us in, and leave the rest to me."

He could not avoid consenting to admit us: but it was not without warning, that we should certainly be awaked before midnight, and must then give up our beds. Supper we should have immediately, at the common table with all the travellers. Here again we had persons from Orleans and Tours, reinforced with others from Anjou and Poitou, and three parisians. These were far too many. Immediately I was seized with a violent head-ach: notwithstanding my bad dinner, I

contented myself with a chop, which was soon dressed; and then went and chose a sorry room nearest the sky, and of all the bad beds the worst; satisfied, that the representative of the people and his retinue would disturb every person in the house, before they would me. "Tired and ill as I am," said I to the servant, "I had rather sleep as well as I can on this miserable bed, than be obliged to rise again in a couple of hours, and spend the remainder of the night in my clothes." The maid thought I acted very wisely; and my uneasy conductor, who was attentive to all my steps, squeezed my hand, and said: "It is a pleasure to serve a man, who has his wits about him like you."

Wearied with the alarms of the day, I discoursed very learnedly with my *bolster* on the troubles of life, and the comforts of death. The latter were within my power; for I had satisfied myself, that my opium was safe, and my pistol in good order. Thus resigned, I slept soundly. When I awoke, I did not inquire, whether the representative of the people and his retinue were arrived. Day had not broken when we set out, and at that time my enemy surely would not think of quitting his bed.

At Lonjumeau, violently jacobinical, we underwent an examination more threatening than that of Etampes. The event however, was the same: the same malignance and blindness on one part; the same boldnes and success on the other. Our dinner, at the *Croix de Bernois*, gave me great uneasiness. There was a large company at table: one of the guests, who had looked at me very much, said to the landlord, I know not on what occasion,

in a voice that appeared to me affected, “ Do you take me for a romancer*? I do not deal in romances, for my part.” This he repeated several times. Did he intend to allude to *Faublas*†? Whatever was his meaning, he whispered a few words in the ear to a friend, who the moment after began to hum the burden of one of my well-known romances :

“ *Est-ce crainte, est-ce indifférence ?* ”

“ *Je voudrois bien le deviner ‡.* ”

Could this be nothing more than the sport of chance? However, if these two men knew who I was, I had no great reason to be alarmed. An enemy would not have given me to understand by pleasantries, that he had discovered me. Thus, my courage revived by my reflections, I ventured towards Paris.

We dreaded the search at the barriers, and took a number of useless precautions against it, for we were suffered to pass without a single word. In *Enfer* street I thanked my fellow-travellers a thousand times, *and under the walls of the Chartreux*, a place little frequented, I alighted. “ Honest man,” said I to my conductor, “ you have run some risk; but between God and ourselves, I assure you, you have performed a good action. Why am I not able to reward you as I wish ?” I gave him the hundred livres (4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) in assignats, which I had left, and which I had promised him; and I added to them a gold watch worth six times as much, saying, I would not forget him, when we met again, if

* The french word, *romancier*, signifies a writer of romances. T.

† A romance written by Louvet. T.

‡ “ Is it fear, or is it indifference? Would I could tell.”

ever it were possible. " For your sake I wish it may," said he, " not for my own ; and had you given me nothing, I should have been satisfied." He squeezed my hand, and would have embraced me, but I made him a sign, that it would not be prudent, and walked away.

A tavern was near, at which I remained, whilst the cavalier went to procure me a hackney coach. He soon returned with one, and I stepped into it. Thus was I, alone, in broad day, at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of December, going from one extremity to the other of that ungrateful city, in which I had so many feeble partizans, and so many inveterate enemies.

There, however, I could hope to meet my Lo-
doiska ; or were she not there, I should at least hear in what place she was to be found, and what other dangers remained for me to encounter, before I could enfold her in my arms. I was going to her friends and mine, our sure, our devoted friends, whose affection was the growth of twenty years. No doubt, they thought me for ever lost ; they would shed tears of joy, when they beheld me. Why then expanded not my heart with joy ? What was the meaning of the painful presentiment, that depressed my mind ?

The greatest danger awaited me, at the very place where I sought an asylum. My intimate friend dwelt there no longer. Having no suspicion of this, I had discharged my coach at the corner of the next street, and went to knock at the door, which I knew so well. A little boy of seven or eight years old opened it to me ; and in him I recognised the son of a deputy, who

who had frequently brought him to the national assembly. "How is this?" cried I: "is not this citizen Bremont's?" (Let me be permitted thus to conceal the name of the friend, for whom I inquired.) The child answered "no."—"Who lives here, then?" said I to him.—"My papa: here he is coming."—In fact, some person was coming from the adjoining room. I asked no more: but ran down the stairs, through the court, and into the street. A servant was going into the house: I inquired of her, where citizen Bremont now lived: she informed me. Thus was I obliged to repair thither on foot, with my face exposed. Fortunately it was not far, and I flew, rather than walked.

I reached the house, and the door of the apartment, to which I was directed. The first voice, the only voice, that struck me, was that of Lodoiska. I rushed in: she screamed out, threw herself at my knees, embraced them, rose, pressed me to her bosom, wept, and sunk in my arms. I fear nothing: her tears are the tears of joy, of extasy; of that extasy which agitates myself, which fills my frame as well as her's, which mingles our sighs and sabbings together. O God! thus was I completely recompensed for all my misfortunes, amply rewarded for all my labours!

The mistress of the house, the nephews, the niece, all ran to us. They embraced me, they wept with us. This scene, so grateful to my heart, was not of short continuance; at length it was perceived, that I wanted change of linen, of drefs, and that I was pressed by wants of every kind. I was conducted to the most retired chamber of the apartment: it was that of Lodoiska: she and I entered it. No one followed us; apparently

rently from the delicate attention of friendship. O my wife ! my adorable wife ! who could depict the transports attendant on thy caresses ? I leave them to be imagined by them, who like us have felt the flame of true love.

So many journeys, however, so many fatigues, so many dangers, and even that grateful joy, that vivid happiness, which succeeded them, exhausted a body too feeble, to support such agitations. A bed was ready to receive me, and that the bed of my wife : there at length was I to repose with delight a head, saved from the midst of such various perils. My wife left me for a moment, to procure me a few necessaries, of which I was in immediate want. Presently she returned with a dejected countenance. "We are almost alone in the house," said she to me : "the young people are gone out. The niece too : she took her cloak in my presence, and did not even bid me adieu. I dare say, she is gone but a step or two ; and will soon return ; but could she not have deferred it for one moment?"—I, entertaining no suspicion, repeated after my wife, "no doubt she will soon return."

No : we were both mistaken : that young woman, so engaging, so dear to me, who had grown up under my eye, for whom my wife had conceived the tenderest attachment, and whom in more prosperous times we had intended to adopt for our own child, would return no more. Dastardly fear began to curdle the heart's blood of all around us : she already abandoned us : she, whom we had intended to make our own daughter, left us, never to return.—Since that time my wife has seen her only once ; I, never : and happen what will, never will—

I see

I see her more. Ungrateful girl, she, above all others, has henceforth shut my heart to friendship.

It was half after ten, and I was in a sound sleep, when my wife came, and said to me: "O my friend, summon all your courage, never had you so much need of it. I have to announce to you of all misfortunes the most cruel, perhaps, and unexpected. Bremont, who is just come in, *gives you half an hour to quit his house.* I repeat to you his own words. The companion of your father's infancy, who has known you from the moment you were born, our friend ever since we have learnt the meaning of the term, refuses to shelter you, fears to see you, sends us to the square of the revolution!— Collect all your fortitude!"

Is it possible, that I can be awake? Is it not a frightful dream, that disturbs my mind? I endeavour to collect my thoughts, to rouse all my faculties: I cannot believe at first the testimony of my ears and eyes: ten times I look around me, and feel the things that are within my reach, to satisfy myself, that I am awake. At length it is too sure, that I am not so happy as to dream: it is really my wife, who stands there; and she has certainly uttered the cruel words I have just heard: for I see her motionless, through grief, her eyes fixed, too much affected to shed a tear, and struggling to keep in her groans. My unutterable surprise was quickly succeeded by fiery indignation, eager to burst forth. Lodoiska perceived it clearly. "I have no hope," said she to me with a tender voice, "but in your courage. One consolation, however, I have left. You are no longer in Gironde, completely deserted, wholly alone. You will not have the pang of dying far from me, or

shall I have that of surviving you: we shall at least die together." Her gentle accent, her courageous words, calmed my disorderly agitation. Yes, thought I already, some privileged beings, faithful, generous, magnanimous, still exist. Already I cherished with more tranquillity the indignation, which the cowardice of men inspired.

To understand all the barbarity of this order to quit the house in half an hour, it must be known, that after the retreat is beaten, especially when the clock has struck ten, every one seen in the streets of Paris is taken to the next guard-house, where he must produce his *card of surety*, on which are written his name, the name of his section, and the place of his abode, with a description of his person. My old card, with my own name, could not be used; and I had no other, that would serve me, as Bremont well knew: to send me away thus, therefore, as my wife said, was pushing me on the scaffold.

" My friend, how are we to act ?" continued Lodoiska. I answered her, with a calm and determined voice, " tell him from me, that he deserves I should instantly crawl to his door, and blow out my brains on his threshold. Let him not be alarmed, however: he shall have the happiness to learn, that I have died without involving him in trouble. Yet I think the dangers I have run, to throw myself into his arms, give me a right to demand a few hours respite, and to have time to recollect myself, before I terminate my sad fate. Assure him then positively, that no power on earth shall force me out of his house alive at this hour; as nothing shall hinder me from quitting it, with due precautions, to-

morrow

morrow evening at seven o'clock. If fear have completely turned his brain, let him sleep from home: some friend of thirty years standing will receive him for one night: he is not proscribed! no doubt he will insist, exclaim, threaten. If so, add, that there is one method, one sole method, of making me quit this place, before the time I have fixed: after the lesson he has given me, let him give me another; let him go himself, and inform against me; let him bring my assassins to me, instead of sending me to them."

He was aware that I was capable of keeping a resolution I had formed. When he heard it from my wife's mouth, he turned pale, immediately went out, and did not come home again till the next day but one.

Lodoiska, however, did not return to me alone. Mrs. Bremont ran to console me, and accused her husband of inhumanity. The necessity of abandoning me, in obedience to him, wounded her deeply. What would become of me? She bathed me in tears. I was astonished to see Lodoiska appear insensible to the protestations of attachment she lavished on me. When we were alone, my afflicted wife explained to me this painful mystery. She had every reason to be convinced, that Mrs. Bremont herself, whose power over her husband we knew, and whose sway was greatest when he was in fear, had persuaded him, weak as he was, to exert himself in some degree to turn me out of doors. Then, indeed, we had only strong presumptions of it; since we have been assured it was the case. What an execrable assemblage of barbarity, falsehood, and treachery! O Guadet! poor Guadet! cried I: you complained of your friends; could you but see mine!

Yet

Yet in the midst of these horrors Hymen gave one night to Love. Yes, Hymen : for what contract could be more sacred, than that which we had signed, and to which we had sworn, before our unfortunate friends ? To what civil authority could I, proscribed and wretched, present myself, and acknowledge a legitimate spouse ? At the period when she united her fate to mine, we could find no altar in our cruel country but the scaffold.

Alas ! would this happy night be followed by others like it ? Was not the fatal day approaching, when our delightful ties, but just knit, would be loosed by the only circumstance, that could disperse them ? "One consolation at least remains," said my beloved Lodoiska, "of which, we cannot be deprived : we shall die together. In the mean time, listen to my plan. Tomorrow I will seek a lodging in this remote quarter : I will take it in my maiden name : and you shall come to it. I know, that the neighbours will be inquisitive concerning the new-comer : it cannot be long, before they discover who I am ; and then, if I be not suspected of having given you an asylum, to find in me your friend, your lover, the companion of your labours, will be sufficient reason for them to condemn me to die. To punishment, however, they shall not drag me : with you I know how to escape the scaffold. In the mean time observe, we shall gain a week, perhaps a fortnight, possibly a month. O my friend, how much more of life cannot we enjoy in that short space, than many, who die of old age ? Like St. Preux, you may say to me, 'we shall not have quitted this world, without having tasted happiness.' "

I folded

I folded her in my arms, pressed her to my heart, devoured her with kisses, whilst my eyes shed tears of delight. "If, however," said I to her, "it be not impossible, but some future day life may become less a burden to you without me; if time"—"Whence this suspicion?" exclaimed she, interrupting me: "how have I deserved it?" She broke from me, clasped her hands together, raised her eyes to heaven. "No, I swear, that, without you, life is to me a torment, an insupportable torment! Alone I should soon die, I should die with despair. O let us, let us die together."

I could not prevail on myself to pass over this detail, which perhaps may be thought tedious: yet let me be excused for it, since those moments were the most exquisite, yet at the same time the most piercing of my life.

The next day, before seven in the evening, that brave young man, who had already received me some time before my departure for Caen, came to conduct me to his home once more. He could keep me only three days: some maratists lived on the same floor with him: and the wall, which separated the two apartments, was so thin, that the least movement in one could be heard in the other. A female friend of Lodoiska then took me in; but she was so much frightened in the course of a single day, that my wife was obliged to fetch me the day following, though the hiding place she was preparing me in her new lodging was not yet finished.

My Lodoiska's delicate white hands had never been accustomed, as you may suppose, to handle the plane, the saw, or the trowel; yet, in five days more, she finished, without my assistance, which my short-sighted-

ness

ness rendered me totally incapable of giving, a piece of joiner's work and masonry, on so correct and workman-like a plan, that her first attempt might have passed for the chief performance of a master. Unless some person were known to be concealed in that box, which appeared to be a wall, and a wall in which not a crack would be perceived by any one unapprised of it, I might defy the scrutiny of the most acute-eyed searcher.

From that time we were perfectly secure against those general visits, which the sections occasionally made within their limits. They were made by day; they sought no particular object; and they were confined to a brief examination of each apartment. In such a case my hiding place was a secure protection: to it I fled on the first whistle of the porter. If any one knocked at our door, without our receiving notice from the whistle, my wife, purposely slow and heavy in her walk, would never open the first of our three doors, till she had allowed me time to go to the farther end of our fourth room, and let myself slide softly into my retreat; into which I entered much more quickly and commodiously, than I could get out. For the latter, she had considered, I should always have sufficient time. If it were some troublesome visitor, of whom in our adversity, we had very few; or some gossip, who are to be found at all times, a neighbour, for instance, or the porter's wife, who often came, either out of curiosity, or for want of something to do, and sometimes would stay an hour or two; I was provided with a resource. O Lodoiska, two whole hours without seeing thee! it was indeed a banishment, and I endeavoured to soften it's severity. In my retreat, which was tolerably large,

I had a bench to sit on, a mat under my feet, some phosphoric matches with which I lighted a candle, the newspapers of the day, and, singular contrast, Virgil's Georgics, Delisle's Gardens, and the Idyls of Geffner. I had also pens, ink, and paper; and some provision, in case of accidents. When I found myself in want of air, I procured it through a sort of valve. How many *outlaws*, to have enjoyed my retreat, would have engaged never to have quitted it!* I did not come out, till my wife gave me the appointed signal; and then we embraced, as after a long absence.

We had neighbours beneath us, and by our side. The walls and floors were thin. To deaden the sound of what passed within, we had covered the former with thick tapestry, the latter with a stout carpet; and that I might walk about, and even run, without being heard, Lodoiska, ever inventive, ever dexterous, had made me some good slippers of coarse woollen, with a strong sole of hair cloth, which served me for shoes. A thousand other subordinate precautions had been taken, and were never neglected.

Still this excellent retreat, and all our tutelary precautions would have been of no avail, against a search by the order of the committee of general safety, or of the municipality. These orders were issued against a particular habitation, and particular suspected persons, who were meant to be apprehended. Supposing, that nothing could ever point out to the searchers, that, in spite of all their rage, a prey so ardently coveted was there; yet

* Important reasons prevent my describing it at present. I am in it no longer; but the invention has not remained useless.

there could be no doubt, that my wife would soon be recognised, and still sooner suspected. Soon or late the municipal Hébert, or the conventional Amar, both her personal enemies and sworn foes, would send to her their assassins. Happily these, like all other villains, dreaded the light; and never went on their expeditions, except under the cover of darkness. If any should knock at our door in the dead of the night, on what had we resolved? To retire both of us to my retreat, would have been our destruction. However well we might be concealed, we should be so in reality no longer, when inquisitors arrived, sure that we were somewhere in the apartment. A simple fire of wet straw, would have choked us in our asylum; and nature, which mechanically resists suffocation, would deliver us over to the guillotine. The noise of our convulsions would have betrayed us, and we should have fallen alive into the hands of our executioners. "No, my brave companion;" said Lodoiska; "if any knock in the middle of the night, we will not open the door. Above all things we will not contend a moment with death. Let them break open the first door: there will still remain two, thick, strong, with each a lock and bolts. Your pistols are under the pillow. Not for the assassins: why should our hands be defiled with blood so base? Let us descend spotless to the grave. At least we shall have sufficient time to withdraw ourselves. Only let me conjure you, not to be the first. Let me die one instant, only one instant, before my husband."

How often did we fall asleep, almost certain, that we should soon open our eyes, to close them again for ever! How often, when a lodger, coming home late, knocked

loudly at the door, awakened suddenly by the noise, and hearing the coach-way gate grate on it's hinges, have we embraced, and seized our weapons !

Then what was our joy, when the returning sun brought us the pleasing certainty, that we had one more day, that we had at least sixteen hours, yet to live together ! What a length of time gained to love ! She rose, my Lodoiska rose every day more charming ! Every day more anxious for my safety, more attentive to my wants, her cares for me were renewed with the dawn. A trusty and faithful girl, more faithful, alas ! than all our friends, came to assist her in the little business of the house, which less than an hour finished. She went to buy us food; though my wife also was forced to go, for in those times of scarcity one person could not procure a double portion, even at any price. My wife then went out ! alas ! yes : we parted for a few minutes : for ages ! she went out, leaving under the guard of her three keys, and my intrenchment, her precious deposit, which still she feared never to find again. And how uneasy was I, till she entered ! At length she was returned, and for the day. How delicious the repast prepared by her lovely hands ! I laid the cloth; and I carved, though my eye-sight would scarcely suffer me to acquit myself tolerably of the office: indeed I had my reasons for persisting in it; as, if I had left it to her, she would have given me all, lest I should not have had enough, unless I had sometimes put myself in a passion. After dinner she read to me; then she played on the piano-forte; next we had a game at chess; and with these amusements was intermingled agreeable conversation in a low voice. Lastly we supped

together alone, for few people had the curiosity to disturb our dangerous retreat ; and we retired to bed, ardently wishing, that no barbarians would come to ravish from us the delights of the morrow.

Nothing would have disturbed the joys of those too fleeting days, could I have prevailed on myself to comply with the attentive wish of my wife, who always endeavoured to make me forget the papers of the day. But how could I refrain from continually seeking news of my unfortunate friends ? and how often was I tortured with fatal information ! One after another, they were unhappily discovered, and assassinated without pity.

First there was *Lebrun*, late minister for foreign affairs, seized in a cock-lost, in the disguise of a labourer, and led to death with scarce an examination.

Then *Bougon*, administrator of Calvados, who, on the defection of his department, sought refuge in Fougeres, where the tyrants discovered him. Before they put him to death, true to their method of calumniating them whom they murdered, they gave out, that he was taken amongst the rebels in Vendée. This was the man, whom Charlotte Corday immortalised, by mentioning him in her letter to Barbaroux.

Claviere, minister for the contributions, more fortunate than the other two, was able to put an end to his own existence, ere he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. His virtuous wife followed his example. A subtle poison, obtained, as it is said, through the friendship of C—, united her to her husband. Almost all these republicans had partners worthy them, whom they made happy, and by whom they were adored. This affords a complete answer, which they that cherish their

their memory may make to those vile libellers, who, not satisfied with calumniating them in their public conduct, have dared to attack their private lives.

Rabaud St. Etienne, artfully concealed in Paris, was sold, as it is said, by the infamous covetousness of a woman in whom he trusted, and who had long been his servant. The wife of Rabaud imitated the wife of Claviere, but her end was more tragical. She seated herself on the border of a well, so that the pistol, which she discharged at herself, precipitated her to the bottom. Thus she died, as it were, two deaths at once.

The generous *Bois-Guyon* was sacrificed with *Girey-Dupré*.

How courageously did *Girey Dupré* fall ! The tigers of the tribunal intended to make his attachment to Brissot an article of accusation against him. "Were you not his friend?" said they. He answered: "Yes; I loved him: yes; I respect, and I admire him. Like Aristides he lived, like Sydney he died: I have no wish, but to share his fate." As he went to the place of execution, he gaily chanted the death-song he had composed. As he passed the end of St. Florentine-street, he saw Robespierre's mistress, his sisters, and some of his savage accomplices, at the windows of Robespierre's apartment? "Down with tyrants ! Down with dictators !" cried he: and this prophetic exclamation he repeated, till they were out of sight. At last he died, as he had lived, a pattern of courage and of civism. His last prayer was for the republic*.

Custine

* *Bois-Guyon* and *Girey-Dupré* were apprehended at Bourdeaux, with the representatives *Duchâtel* and *Cuffy*. All the four were informed

Cuſtine, the son of the general, was murdered, like his father, for having too well served the republic, now annihilated. He was a young man of great promise, whose eulogy Mirabeau has given in his Secret Correspondence respecting the Court of Prussia. He died with a smile, as a man praised by Mirabeau ought to die.

formed against by one Mahon, an aide de camp to Wimpfen. This Mahon had taken refuge in the same city, with the wife of that Puysay, whom I have already mentioned. Where he now drags on existence I know not; but wherever he is hidden, remorse will sting him, and shame will reach him. Vile informer! he murdered four good men. At his age, for he is still young, how could so much baseness combine with so much barbarity! yet why should I be surprised at it? he was the pupil of Wimpfen.

The wretch would have occasioned us other irreparable losses. *Marchena* and *Riouffe* were apprehended with the four proscribed persons, whom I have just mentioned: they both languished fourteen months in the prisons of Robespierre. Whence came it, they were not put to death? Possessing talents, virtue, learning, unshaken courage, and ardent civism, they had ample claim to the scaffold; but the *public assassin*, otherwise called the *public accuser*, lost sight of them in the immense crowd. The same accident saved many worthy republicans; the cannibals could not devour all; time was wanting for their massacres.

One circumstance is worthy remark. *Marchena*, the worthy friend of Brissot, wrote several times to *Fouquier*: "You forget me; I am waiting here to be guillotined, and I wish it." Notwithstanding all he could do, still he was forgotten: no doubt they took him for a madman. How should the members of the tribunal comprehend contempt of death, and the enthusiasm of virtue.

As to *Riouffe*, he has made a noble use of his lately recovered liberty. He is the author of *Mémoires d'un Détenu*, "Memoirs of a Prisoner;" a pamphlet, that cannot be too often read. I do not mean on account of the talents it displays merely, but also for the historical facts it contains.

Mazuyer,

Mazuyer, guilty of having disconcerted the villainous hypocrisy of *Pache*, the mayor, by a biting sarcasm, lost his head for a witty word.

Last of all was *Valady*, whom I left in *Gironde*, and who was apparently soon deserted, by the relation on whom he depended. I read, that he unfortunately passed by *Perigueux* a few weeks after me, and was stopped in the environs, where I ran the same risk. Being carried back to the town, to which I was on the point of being carried back, he was examined, interrogated, stripped of his disguise, and conducted to *Roux Fazillac*, and thence to the scaffold ! Alas ! though the least engaging of the seven, in my opinion, he must have occasioned great regret to that angel of heaven in *Gironde*, who, distressed at our quitting her house, said, “if any one of you perish, I shall never know comfort.”

She was indeed a friend. But, what consolation was afforded me by mine, by those parisian friends, on whom I had reckoned so much, in the midst of the sorrows I endured from losses so great ? or what assistance gave they to my *Lodoiska* ?

Mrs. Bremont, however, did pay us a few visits ; and it is some pleasure to me, to have to say, that her husband, on reflection, returning to himself, to the natural goodness and generosity of his heart, exposed himself much more to keep us in some security where we were, than he needed to have done, had we remained in his house. As for the companion of my infancy, he did not come to see me till a fortnight after my arrival ; and in the space of two months he came only three times.

We had other friends, considered intimate, to have concealed from whom, that I was in Paris, I should

have thought doing them injustice ; and who were fully aware, that at a time, when every thing gave rise to suspicion, a young woman, almost unknown, suddenly coming from scarcely any one knew where, and settling herself in an apartment, would soon be suspected ; particularly if she were never visited at home, and paid no visits abroad, though professing to have many relations. The neighbours, the porter, every inquisitive person, and every spy, would say, is she an adventurer ? or an emigrant ? or merely a suspected person, with whom no one chooses to have any connection ? This was sufficient for her to be noticed by the revolutionary committee of her section, and, sooner or later, apprehended. Of this they were perfectly conscious : yet to this they paid no regard. Not one of them appeared at our door : no, not a single time : so that it is no untruth, to say, that they absolutely did every thing necessary to ruin us, except informing. However, if they deprived themselves of the pleasure of seeing us, they did not forego that of talking of us. Our situation was the perpetual subject of their conversation, and of their fears. I was very unfortunate ; and undeservedly so : on this they agreed : but in a whisper they pitied me, for not having sufficient courage, to put an end to my troubles ; for not being enough the friend of my friends, to ease them, by dying at once, of the fear they were constantly in of seeing me die. My wife they thought a very extraordinary woman ; in which I confess myself altogether of their opinion : but then they added, she was very selfish, selfish to the extreme : and this, not indeed because she exposed her own life to save mine, but because she persisted in her endeavours to save me against all

all hope, and thus would ultimately bring into trouble all my friends, and all her's. Good God ! what friends ! How have they taught me, to distrust the name !

Happily there existed a man, who, during the course of my literary and political prosperity, had never affected to give himself the title of my friend, but who claimed all the offices annexed to it, as soon as he saw me unfortunate. Ten years before, when scarcely knowing him, I had rendered him a service, slight in itself, but deriving some value from being done opportunely. As soon as he was returned to Paris, and knew I was there, he flew to me. He came every day. In vain we intreated him not to be seen so often at our lodging : he came, and came again, now under one pretext, then under another ; to-day he was going by the door ; to-morrow he had some news, that would give us pleasure ; another time he came to bring us some article, of which he saw we were in want. He thought of nothing, but some means to extricate me from my cruel situation ; and if he could find an opportunity of serving me, he should think himself the happiest man in the world.

When, fallen into the profound abyss, we perceive we cannot attempt to get out of it, but at the risk of pulling in the faithful friend, who from it's brink calls us, and stretches forth his hand ; we turn aside our eyes, we fear to think of any thing, we fear to ask any thing : but for another, but for an object beloved, how ready we feel to invent means of succour, and how eloquent to solicit them ! My Lodoiska, since she had been no longer permitted to look towards America, saw no retreat for me, except mount Jura. Revolving this ob-

ject in her mind, it occurred to her, that F—, I give him the name I now bear, for he has deserved it, possessed, beside the good will of which he had given proofs, all the necessary means of enabling me to arrive at that land of promise ; means which I will not relate, lest I should betray him : and this by a strange concurrence of the most singular circumstances and accidents ; so that Providence seemed expressly to have preserved for us, and brought us, this friend. He was indeed a friend, a real friend. Such beings therefore do exist : and am not I, who appeared to doubt it, who bitterly complained of mankind, guilty of ingratitude ? For, however small the number of those privileged beings, who are an honour to the human species, have I wanted one in time of need ? Has not some one of those benevolent creatures, good, generous, intrepid, as —, stepped forward to save me at the critical moment ? Let us then forget the selfish herd, and remember none but heroes !

My wife meditated on her plan, and digested it thoroughly. As soon as F— returned, that was the next day, she mentioned it to him. He embraced it with avidity. From that moment he had no rest. His mind and his body were continually at work. No step cost him any thing, no labour gave him pain, no obstacle could stay him, no danger could terrify. What ardent zeal ! what strong affection ! what greatness of mind ! from my heart it's remembrance will never be effaced.

In less than a fortnight his indefatigable exertions removed every difficulty. The 6th of february, 1794, just two months after my return to Paris, every thing was ready ; disguise, passport, and carriage. As soon as

as the next morning dawned, we set off. I say we, for he accompanied me quite to the mountain, resolved to fix me there, or die with me. Lodoiska's courage had not failed during our preparations : but every obstacle being surmounted, the hour of separation approaching, and the renewal of my dangers about to commence, the tenderness of love was alarmed. Many times in the day did she say to me : " yet, if we should never meet again ! if, seeking to save thee, I should be the cause of thy destruction ! how I tremble at the thought ! Do not go : do not leave me : alas ! have we not resolved to die together ! "

In the evening, she had shut me up, she had left me for a few minutes alone, whilst she went for some last and indispensable directions. These few minutes I employed in writing to her. That the reader may form a just idea of our former situation in Paris, and of our vain projects for the future, I will insert here an exact copy of my letter. He will soon know by what means the original came to my hands.

TO MY WIFE.

*From my biding place, at Paris, february 6, 1794,
seven o'clock in the evening.*

To-morrow, my beloved, I shall set off for the cottage. Through what road will fate have conducted us to that object of all our wishes ! It seems to have been requisite, that first, the benefactor and the victim of my countrymen, cowardly deserted by all my false friends,

Friends, I should find myself alone at the bottom of the abyss, into which the villains, who oppress my country, had precipitated me. Yet no: I was not alone. Something more consolatory, more strong, more helpful, than my courage, my love, or even my innocence, was left me: thou wert left me, my best beloved!—and daily thou hast protected me, thou hast saved me, at the peril of thy life!—What wonderful happiness! every day, every night, surrounded with imminent dangers, our weapons always ready under our pillow, one foot as it were in the grave, but our minds free from reproach, our hearts full of love, we have constantly tasted that exquisite bliss, which few mortals know, and with that imperturbable tranquillity, which none but the brave and good can enjoy: for thou, my best beloved, my worthy wife, whilst thou art the most amiable of women, art also good and brave. By our happiness we have defied, we have punished, our tyrants. Always ready for death, we have drained the cup of life. In our intoxication, we should have exhausted the cup of love itself; were it not, that a passion like our's, proof against time, proof against suffering, is inexhaustible. Thanks to thee, Liberty, idol of my heart, adored perhaps no less than even my wife herself, we have found means to enjoy freedom in the secret retreat, in the profound obscurity, in which the oppressors obliged us to remain buried.

But such a state could not be permanent. Of the thousand precautions necessary to our security one forgotten might be our ruin. There Providence, yes Providence, came to my succour. O my beloved, still it was thou, it was thou,--- it was thy star the lord of the ascendant,

ascendant, it was thy commanding genius, that called me from the farthest part of that Gironde, where deadly snares surrounded me on every side; and called me without ceasing. With face uncovered, with countenance erect, with my weapon in my hand, and my mind ever bent upon thee, I passed through the midst of their committees, of their commissioners, of their satellites, of that herd of assassins. But for thee, I had perished there; but for thee, I had come hither to have perished. Thy patience nothing can tire, when thy lover is it's object: thy courage nothing can daunt, when oppression is to be resisted: and thy prevailing eloquence raises up deliverers for me. O my best beloved, if this enterprize, commencing under such favourable auspices, should terminate unfortunately, be not, I conjure thee, unjust, afflict me not with the cruel pain of accusing thyself. Tell thyself, incessantly tell thyself, that I should inevitably have perished here. Yes, if I escape, it is through thee: if I fall, it is fate, it is the decree of destiny, Blame only — but no: blame not — hasten to join thy spouse with the tranquillity of innocence: let us meet again in the grave.

Yet, mistake me not: I am induced to frame these suppositions merely from thy apprehensions for me. For my own part, never had I so much confidence. Fear nothing; indulge hope; I shall be saved. I am saved: heaven owes as much, perhaps, to the sacrifices I have made for the happiness of mankind, but more especially to thy generous constancy, thy unfortunate love, and the magnanimity with which thou hast devoted thyself for my safety. Long have I laboured, thou knowest,

knowest, my love, to procure us a cot* : I am now going to choose one. Within six weeks I shall there fold thee in my arms. There at last we shall enjoy that rural life, which I have always so eagerly desired : there I shall taste the delights of a retirement, in which I shall be wholly thine ; and the charms of solitude, which I have so long sacrificed to my ungrateful country. My friend, listen to the prayer, which I offer up to thee on my knees : be careful of thyself. Thou knowest I leave behind me my dearest half. Be careful of thyself, and pay no regard to thy affairs, if it cannot be done without imprudence. Let us be still poorer than we are, so we be more speedily united. Think of the extreme anxiety, in which I shall languish.—I hear thee returned. How many things had I yet to say !—Adieu ! I adore thee. Take care of thyself. I go before, to wait for thee.

The seventh of february, at six in the morning, I resumed my adventurous travels. At the end of Charenton-street I left my wife in the hackney coach, in which she would accompany me. There we parted. I was to be pitied ; she was much more so : the person left is always the more unhappy. Prudence required us to part some way on this side the barrier, which it was necessary for me to pass alone and on foot, that I might be less strictly examined. From the fore window

* Thus we styled the retreat, in which, during a space of ten years, we had ardently desired to shun the bustle of the world, and give ourselves up wholly to love : and such a retreat, my friend then assured me, I should find in mount *Jura*.

of the coach Lodoiska followed me with an anxious eye: she trembled lest I should founder on the first rock. She saw too well, that the sentry stopped me: but she likewise saw, that I produced a card not my own, with an air of assurance, and passed with a friendly smile.

How warmly did I share thy joy at that moment, Lodoiska! yet what did I not suffer from the speedy alarms, that were to succeed? Many more dangerous straits remained for me to pass, and thy looks could no longer accompany me. How much did I feel for thee! The period of absence, too, of cruel absence, then commenced. At least do not neglect any means to diminish it. Six weeks hence, in thy turn, for thou hast promised me, six weeks hence, at farthest, present thyself at this gate, take this road, on which I am gone before thee. Hasten, quit that city, where so long we imagined we should find a tomb. Before the end of march come and join me in that country, where, we are told, tranquillity, safety, and hospitality dwell. —

Alas!

In the town of Charenton I found my good friend waiting for me. We entered *Villeneuve-St.-George's* together. Fortunately I had taken the precaution, to prevail on my wife, to consent to my setting off a day before the coach, in which a place was taken for me from Paris to Dol; so that I might go forwards on foot a little more than twenty miles, and wait for it at Melun. This was a certain method of diminishing the dangers of my departure from Paris, and being much less exposed in it's dreaded environs. To it we owed our safety at *Villeneuve-St.-George's*. A commissioner of the executive power resided there, to examine all

public

public vehicles as they passed through, and all travellers in carriages. I was told his name, which I have forgotten; though I remember he was a jacobin, who very probably would have known me: but he would not affront a couple of honest fellows on foot with the honour of a commissarial examination. We were merely conducted to the officer on guard, who examined our papers very slightly, and permitted two soldiers to pass without difficulty. As soldiers we appeared, for F— had the ordinary dress of one: whilst I wore a large pair of black woollen pantaloons, a short jacket of the same, and a three-coloured waistcoat; a jacobite wig, with short, straight, black hair, lately made for the purpose, which fitted me so well, that any one would have sworn it was my own hair; and lastly a red cap, an enormous sabre, and a huge pair of mustaches, which I had permitted to grow ever since my seclusion. There was certainly nothing I could be more unlike than a fine gentleman in this dress, which was at that time the grand mode of the *great patriots*, and was called a complete carmagnole.

I was able to undertake, and to accomplish, this walk of twenty miles very well; for two months rest and care had driven away my rheumatism.

The next day all the passengers in the stage coach, which I joined at —, were conducted to the municipality. A member of the committee of superintendance examined the passports. I gave him mine: he read it attentively, looked at me stedfastly, and, without returning it, asked for those of my companions. He examined them one after another, returned them, and still kept mine, holding it separately in his left hand, which

which he drew back, every time I put mine forth to receive it. "Wait a moment :" he said to me, whenever I made a motion for it. I began not to be quite at ease. My companions were already dismissed, and I remained alone with the inspector. "You are going to join the army?" said he.—"By no means : you have read my passport : I am going on business."—He looked at it again : "O aye : on business."—"Give it me, then :" cried I, holding out my hand.—"You are in great haste :" returned he, drawing back his.—"Which you seem not to be. Do not you see, that you have dismissed all the other passengers, and that the coach will go without me ?" "But have you nothing to say to me?" "No :" replied I bluntly, in the style of the day, and of my accoutrement. "Well, then ; I have something to say to you."—"Sacrebleu ! say it, then, at once."—"I have to say to you," resumed he, taking hold of one of my hands, which he squeezed, while he put my passport into the other, "that I wish, with all my heart, you may arrive at your journey's end without any accident. Adieu !" I repeated, adieu ! asked nothing more, and ran to the coach.

Was it to my dress alone I was indebted for this civility? Did he take me for one of his acquaintance ? or, rather, though I knew not him, did not he know me well? These questions the reader will ask himself, as I have done a hundred times, yet I have never been able to answer them to my satisfaction.

I cannot faithfully relate all the whimsical adventures of this journey, without endangering the generous companion of my hazards. I shall at once, therefore, leap forwards to — ; and of what happened to us in that

place I shall only say, that the coach stopped there; but we were too prudent to stay even two minutes. I knew, that a mountaineer representative resided there: we dexterously avoided the guard-house, whence, perhaps, we should have been conducted to the municipality, to be sent next to the committee of superintendance, and lastly to the representative.

From this place to ~~—~~ the distance is upwards of twelve miles, which we walked through terrible weather; and to add to our vexation, the copious shower, which deluged us in the plain, threatened us with a more plentiful fall of snow on the mountains. On quitting ~~—~~ we begin to ascend the Jura. We were told, that the snow was three feet deep on the road, in the shallowest places. At five o'clock in the morning we ventured into it.

Before the end of a toilsome day, I took leave of the generous F—. Delighted with the accomplishment of his undertaking, he returned to carry the welcome news to my impatient wife. O may he enjoy permanent happiness at Paris ! In the midst of the crimes, that prevail in my country, may his virtues remain unknown, that they may be unpunished. One reward at least he cannot want: that inward joy, that delicious sensation, which follows a good action courageously performed, will not cease to fill his heart; and gratitude will never die in mine. My friend, adieu !

I walked a few steps, and entered my retreat. God, if he condescend to rest his eye one moment upon me, must take pleasure from one of his works. The sight of a man free, of a good man, snatched from the sword of dictators and of robbers, cannot be a spectacle indifferent

different to his justice. But will his protection be extended only to me ? Will he leave a number of people under the yoke of the most detestable oppressors ? or, to chastise a misguided multitude, will he suffer these tyrants to be replaced by others ? Thus, scarcely extricated from the most imminent dangers to myself, my anxious eye was turned towards my country : thus I formed useless wishes for it's deliverance *.

From the impenetrable asylum, the profound cavern, into which I had thrown myself on these rugged mountains, which on one side bounded France, I beheld, and I touched as it were, the ancient Helvetia. At the first noise, on the least alarm, I could flee into the neutral territory : then, having seen my enemy pass by, I could re-ascend to my retreat, and at the same time re-enter my country.

All that I suffered, all that I enjoyed, in this retirement, would not be easy to describe. There at least I cherished independance : there the best feelings of my heart, the most laudable emotions, were suffered to expand, in the midst of that solitary wood, where I spent whole days ; yet even those days were too few. At one time, stretched beneath the dark pines, I would sigh to think of my family, left for ever : at another, calling to remembrance my country, and contrasting the glory it had been promised, and the disgrace with which it was stained ; the prosperity it was about to have enjoyed, and the ruins with which it was covered ; it's momentary freedom, and it's eternal slavery ; I would weep. There, too, calling love to my aid, love and it's inse-

* Remember Robespierre was yet alive.

parable companion hope, I engraved on the tender bark of the beech-tree the cypher of my Lodoiska, who perhaps to-morrow would be restored to my arms. Then to calm my violent agitations, I would urge my impatient feet over the rude soil, traverse with rapidity the silent labyrinths of those retreats, and straining climb the enormous rocks, heaped up without order, broken into perpendicular cliffs, and loaded with vast oaks: soon, suspended as it were on the loftiest edge of the precipice, at the bottom of which the innavigable torrent obstreperously rolls it's antideluvian waves, I recover myself, I think, I give up the rein to my boldest imaginations. What mortal would come hither to me ! Here, far from man, and in the presence of God, in spite of all revolutions, in spite of all tyrants, I am still myself, I am still free.

But, O torment ! if a few men appear at a distance, if it be possible, that one of them should eye me, suddenly I must quit these heights, bury myself in the thickest of the wood, retreat to my last asylum, or wo is me.—Then I recall to mind, that it was thy fate, my master, my support, sublime and virtuous Rousseau ! Thou, too, livedst persecuted by mankind, for having deserved well of it, for having been also the friend of the people.—Heavens ! what efforts have been made to render odious that title, which, in spite of so many crimes, will ever remain honoured ! Thou, too, for having been the friend of the people, wast mistaken, detested, and ill-treated by them. In the neighbouring country, a few score miles off, at Neufchâtel, thou wast pelted with stones. In such extremities, however, thou hast given me the example of still supporting

ing the weight of life. Yet who imposed that duty on thee? Thou hadst but a *Theresa*, a Lodoiska awaits me.

Alas! she arrived not! More than six weeks had passed away, and I had heard from her but once. Hope began to abandon my heart. Surely I had lost the sole good, that could attach me to life, that could induce me to cherish it. I had lost it; and how! For having sought to save me, she had languished in prison, she had perished on the scaffold! Where is the man of sensibility sufficiently unhappy to conceive my agitation, my agony, my thirst of vengeance, and desire of death? With the dawn I would rise to bury myself in those forests, once the seat of melancholy alone, now gloomy, sad, and full of horrors. To those rocks, where lately I sought only to flee from man, I now rushed to see the images of yawning gulphs, of chaos, and of destruction. How many times, with a wishing eye, have I looked down from that precipice, whence leaping, I could tumble from crag to crag, and mangled plunge into those rapid, impetuous waters, white with foam, and too shallow to prevent my weight, accumulated a hundred fold by the fall, from tearing my bruised limbs to pieces on the sharp edges of the native rock, that forms their bed! Yet what would be the utility of such an end? Immediately my mind soared to other thoughts: and there were none so mad, so furious, but I at first embraced them with ardour. I would return to Paris in a fresh disguise, penetrate to the closet of Robespierre, and compel him, with a pistol at his breast, to sign me the order, that should restore to liberty Lodoiska. Then, forced to confess the insuper-

ble difficulties of carrying this into execution, I would consider which of the oppressors of my country I should sacrifice on my wife's tomb. At length, my mind becoming a little calm, I fixed on the following scheme.

I would write to the dictator, that one of the proscribed representatives of the 31st of May, he whom no doubt he most detested, lived on the frontiers of France, safe from his search, out of his reach. Yet I would present him with the head of that enemy, on one condition only, that my wife should be brought safe and sound to my retreat. The moment she set her foot in it, I would descend to the plain, and deliver myself up to the axe of his lictors.

The danger of this scheme is obvious. My last hope was, that my wife, who bore in her womb the sole fruit of our loves, would consent to live, to bring up the son of him who loved her, and perhaps the avenger of his country. But if the traitor Robespierre so took his measures, as to be able to retain the second victim, when he had drawn the first into his clutches, at least Lodoiska would not die alone ; we should go to the place of execution together ; I should perish in a manner less afflicting to her, and more worthy of myself.

Five weeks passed on in the torments of this febrile paroxysm, in which my exhausted body lost the remainder of its strength, whilst my mind habituated itself more and more to magnanimous resolutions.—One day, a day that ought to be considered as an epoch in my life, it was the 21st of May, about noon, a man, like myself the victim of tyranny, a friend whom I had made in this solitude, dragged me, under I know not what pretence, into a road in which I had never been,

a cross-

a cross-way from — to —. " You suffer your-self to be depressed by sorrow," said he: " and why? Your misfortune is by no means certain. I would even lay any wager, that you will see your wife again very shortly." — " Never, citizen: every thing tells me so: never." — He stopped: he fixed his eyes on some object a few hundred yards off. " It is a travelling cart," resumed he: " I see only one woman in it, beside the driver. Look: perhaps it is your wife." — " Ah, citizen! for pity's sake do not bring such images to my mind!" — " Indeed I perceive only a woman in a travelling dress, and she has luggage with her." — " My friend, do not jest with my despair: I warn you, disappointment will make me mad." He pointed out the female traveller with his hand: I put it aside, I turned away my head, I shut my eyes.

The driver smacked his whip. The light carriage advanced towards us with all the speed the horses could make. Presently a voice, heavens, what voice! that of the spirits divine, described by Milton, leaves not on the charmed ear a more ravishing impression! a voice cried *stop!* It's sweet accent thrilled in my ear. I flew to the carriage; it was Lodoiska, who darted out; it was she, whom I caught in my arms. What a burden! what a moment!

My happiness continued but three days. Necessity compelled us once more to submit to absence, to it's tortures, to it's dangers: it was incumbent on my wife to desire it; it was incumbent on me to consent to it. She is gone! she is returned! — What! to Paris! to that hostile city! — Yes, she is returned thither. — I cannot at the present moment declare how or why in-

superable necessity commanded it. However, so many securities warrant its success ! I am tranquil. She has been at Paris twelve days. She arrived there without accident, without alarm. I have heard from her. The day after to-morrow she quits it. In nine days I expect her : in nine days we shall meet again. We shall meet, to endeavour to find a way, through new dangers, to some more happy country ; but, happen what may, to part no more.

Forest of *Elinens*, from that day, from the day of her arrival, you have recovered all your native beauties. Your green turf, your peaceful thickets, your varied prospects, your romantic situations, inspire nought but pleasing reveries, tender emotions, hope, happiness, and joy. Under your smiling arbours I have led my spouse : there she has walked, adorned with all her graces, there she has rested in all her charms, on that colossal tree, lately uprooted by the dreadful hurricane. Now absent, here I find her again, I have remarked the place, I have remarked the spot. Every day I revisit it, every day I seat myself there, where I sat by her side : her seat I reserve for herself, respected and untouched. Never did couple so happy, so delightfully agitated with a passion at once ardent and tender, sacred and durable, appear in your retreats : unless from *Clarens*, not far distant from your solitude, from that Clarens celebrated by the sublimest of writers, Julia d'Estanges came hither embellished with all her charms, her youth, her love, and even her remorse after the happy night : unless she came leading with her the deserving friend of her heart, that St. Preux, recalled to a thousand delights from his exile at *Meillerie*, that rock for ever immortal,

on

on which I have never stood, but which I have often seen. Forest of Elinens, if they also visited your shades, you may boast of a prodigy indeed: you have beheld two pairs of lovers in less than half a century.

Since I have traversed it's vast extent, in quest of the most delightful retreats, I have discovered, Lodoiska, between that tufted wood, which opens in an amphitheatre towards the west, rises gradually with a thousand windings towards the plain, covers it entirely, and stretches with an almost imperceptible declivity quite to the valley; between the rocks, which, bounding those extensive walks to the east, rise almost perpendicularly into an inaccessible rampart, covered with eternal forests; near the waters, which, at a distance, narrowing their channel, rush down in impetuous torrents, but here, enjoying the freedom of extensive space, glide peaceably along; in the midst of those imitable gardens, where nature in wild magnificence has cast models for the genius of *Kent*, objects of despair for his feeble successors; I have discovered of all retreats the most enchanting. Oaks that have stood for ages, and pines grown old with them, interlace their hundred arms in a hundred different forms; round them, beneath their shade, and doomed not to rise till these have fallen, young beeches, some scattered plane-trees, and a profusion of wild roses, mixing, crowd each other; and, in the centre of the varied figures they assume, leave a verdant salon, from which the fervid beams of the approaching summer's sun cannot chace the pearls of morn, or the shades of eve, coolness the friend of Venus, or darkness the handmaid of Love. There I hear the amorous wave faint on it's bank, zephyr

caress the mead, and philomel, the tender timid philomel, murmur forth her love at the foot of these shrubs ; whilst the songster of the forests, proud of his, loudly warbles his poetic notes from the summit of the lofty oak ; and a thousand birds in concert salute the brilliant dawn, and all the pleasures it brings. But I can hear no beings of my own species : the noise of their footsteps, the sound of their voices, never disturb me. Some tutelary deity watches over this favoured place, and with jealous care drives from it every unworthy mortal. In it I have spent whole days, without any profane one's coming to disturb my remembrances or my hopes, or obliging me, by his approach, to veil thy image. Has fable deceived us ? Was it indeed here, that Endymion received a kiss from the lips of Diana ? or, rather, I figure to myself, such was the thicket, where the tender Eloise received from her happy master lessons of love. To that thicket I will lead thee Lodoiska : through the unnumbered windings of the labyrinth that conceals it, I will be thy guide : thou wilt be welcomed by the tutelary deity ; he delights in thy name ; a hundred times has he repeated it. We have wandered a long way ; I remove a few branches : look ! see the intricate entrance ! Does thine eye perceive nothing yet ? Draw near : stoop : pass under these weighty branches, which I lift up ; under the triumphal arch, which my arm supports for thee.

Now, my adored spouse, I am going to engrave on these trees thy cypher, already a thousand times engraved in these solitudes : and if, on some future day, free men and lovers, for such no doubt will be found in republican countries, shall have deserved to have this

delightful retreat laid open to them, at the sight of this ancient monument of our happy union, they will feel their hearts penetrated with a more soft emotion : then, casting their sad thoughts retrospectively over the events of our life, and softening at the remembrance, they will give a few sighs to our misfortunes, misfortunes such as few have known. Let them also bestow a tear on the fruits of our painful watchings, on the precious remains of our friends, on our country lost to us in the spring-time of life, and lost without return : a tear to these we can forgive : but quickly, consulting their own hearts, seized with that enthusiasm which appertains only to true lovers, let them exclaim with transport, " still enviable was their fate, for still they were in possession of love ! "

Thanks to thee, protecting providence, she is returned. Beneath her eye I write these concluding lines. Certainly there is a remunerative deity. Chaumette, La Croix, Marat, all their most vile accomplices, all my most cruel persecutors, are already no more. What have I said ? The most cruel of all yet breathes : he reigns, he reigns as a tyrant. Yet I doubt, whether in the midst of his transient greatness he be ever able to obtain even the shadow of real enjoyment : I, however, live for Lodoiska !

Thou callest me ! one moment, I beg ! let me add two words more : it is a pleasing task to me, for they relate to thee.

The attentive reader may perceive an important gap in these memoirs. I have given no account of the obstacles, which my wife surmounted in returning from Finisterre to Paris, and in coming from Paris to mount

mount Jura. This she will do herself: she will do it in that enchanting style, which embellished the letters she wrote to me during the first ten years of our then unfortunate love. I hope the whole of our correspondence, a precious trust deposited in the hands of a faithful friend in France, will be preserved, and sometime published. There will be found my complete justification. Proud of my wife, I have the vanity to think, that those letters, in which our whole souls will appear, will not be deemed unworthy of their authors. However, it is of little consequence to me, whether the superficial reader, after having run over the collection, ask himself, if the man, who gained the heart of a woman endowed with so much wit, such exquisite sensibility, such great courage, and such rare and various talents, had not himself a little more than many others. But I cannot avoid pleasing myself with the thought, that the tender lover, and feeling philosopher, will not finish the affecting collection, without having exclaimed more than once, "since he deserved her love, he must have been a virtuous man!"

My wife will also tell why she made her last journey to Paris, and how she contrived a second time to get out of that formidable city, and return to my rocks; but this must be at some future period. I, too, at present, cannot give an account of the dangerous projects we are forming, and the distant hopes we entertain. Protecting God, withdraw not thine arm, which supports us; be our guide, and go before the friends of the people; these perhaps are not all ungrateful. If, however, of the three proscribed heads, which I am once more going to trust to the fate of events, one must fall

fall in the adventurous enterprise, let it, I conjure thee, be mine ! give Lodoiska strength to survive me ! and save our child !

O God ! if thou wilt, above all, save my country !

*Finished in our cavern, the 22d of July, 1794,
a few days before the fall of Robespierre.*

LETTER TO THE CONVENTION;

*Frimaire 20, in the year of the republic, one
and indivisible, 3 [dec. 10, 1794].*

REPRESENTATIVES,

AT the voice of the deliverers of their country, on the 9th of thermidor [july 27], the republicans open their tombs; and I too demand, to be restored to the enjoyment of light and air.

Hébert set on me all the men of blood: Pache came to denounce me; Henriot took arms against you in order to seize me; Couthon moved a decree for my apprehension; St. Just framed my crimes; Amar drew up my sentence of proscription; Barrere outlawed me.

The first who denounced to you the tyrant, the crimes he had committed, and the still greater crimes he purposed to commit, was I. Will you refuse me the opportunity of refuting the tyrant's calumny before you? Will you deprive me of the benefit of those forms, which protected even Carrier himself? O no: you are just, for you are free.

Amar and Barrere are in the midst of you: constrain them for the first time to look their victim in the face; oblige them to accuse me, myself present, not before the troop of assassins, which they called a tribunal, but before impartial, upright, unexceptionable judges, before you. Let a decree order them to be thus solemnly confronted with me, and I fly to obey it.

I speak

I speak not to you of the thousand dangers, of the innumerable evils, which have attended me; so many others have endured more than myself. Here at the bottom of a subterranean cell, there on the tops of rugged mountains, wandering, abandoned, proscribed; yet at least alone and free; I have frequently raised my voice, to protest against tyranny. My sufferings have undoubtedly been less than those of the worthy envoys of the people, of whom some have been galled with fetters for their love of liberty; others, remaining in the presence of the oppressor, with his ever-threatening arm stretched over their heads, have patiently prepared, and generously awaited, the moment to rise and hurl him down headlong. I thank you not, therefore, for having terminated my distresses; but, with all France, I thank you, for having saved our country. Too happy he, who, having been oppressed for her, like you, may feel revive within him the hope of serving it again with you!

JOHN-BAPTIST LOUVET,

one of the representatives proscribed in 1793.

Just published,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

1. AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF SIEYES,
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